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ABSTRACT

This project examined children's academic performance and psychological well-being in rural communities affected by mass layoffs. In one study (Study A), school level data were compared from similar communities where worksite closing had or had not occurred. Study B explored risk and resiliency processes in a sample of 55 rural Asian Pacific Island American children whose families were affected by the demise of a major sector of the local economy. Study C provided a qualitative view of changes in children's home and community experiences, parents' and children's visions for their future, and suggestions from parents, youth, and teachers about desirable forms of support for children in families affected by job loss. Results indicate little change in school-level indicators of student achievement and behavior during the lay-off and post lay-off years. However, when students were the unit of analysis, widespread difficulties were found in the areas of problem behavior, especially internalizing behavior, and school attendance. Resilience in the face of job loss was predicted by: (1) effective coping strategies; (2) authoritative parenting; (3) social network support; and (4) a safe and positive school and community climate. In general, schools were perceived as making minimal responses to the community crisis. Parents and children wanted greater emotional support as well as stronger academic and career preparation to assist with both current psychological needs and long-term employment viability. Implications of these findings for the school's role in supporting children affected by parental job loss are discussed. Three attachments contain the interview questions for Study B and Study C and a list of project products and presentations. (Contains 5 tables, 10 figures, and 58 references.) (SLD)

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Effects of Worksite Closure on Children's Academic and Psychological Adjustment

Final Report

UD033 304

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FINAL REPORT
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ABSTRACT

Over 3 million American workers per year are affected by worksite closings or corporate down-sizing; the effects of this negative economic transition on children's academic and behavioral adjustment must be understood. This project examines children's academic performance and psychological well-being in rural communities affected by mass layoffs.

In Study A, school level data were compared from similar communities where worksite closing had vs. have not occurred. Study B explored risk and resiliency processes in a sample of 55 rural Asian Pacific Island American children whose families were affected by the demise of a major sector of the local economy. Study C provided a qualitative view of changes in children's home and community experiences; parents and children's visions for their future, and suggestions from parents, youth and teachers about desirable forms of support for children in families affected by job loss.

Results indicated little change in school-level indicators of student achievement and behavior during the lay-off and post lay-off years. However, when individuals were the unit of analysis, widespread difficulties in the areas of problem behavior, especially internalizing behavior, and school attendance were found. Resiliency in the face of parental job loss was predicted by (a) effective coping strategies, (b) authoritative parenting, (c) social network support and (d) a safe and positive school and community climate. In general, schools were perceived as making minimal responses to the community crisis. Parents and children wanted greater emotional support as well as stronger academic and career preparation to assist with both current psychological needs and long-term employment viability.

The implications of these findings are that schools could play a larger role in providing both direct and indirect supports for children affected by parental job loss. Using resilient children as a model for prevention and intervention services, schools could provide direct support by teaching coping skills and creating a truly safe and involved school climate. Schools could provide indirect support via parenting education and fostering school-community involvement. Schools must also provide children with the academic, vocational and life skills needed to adapt to the changing job market they will face as adults.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

The purpose of this project was to study the effects of mass community layoffs on children's academic adjustment and psychological well-being. Specifically, we investigated:

- The effects of community unemployment on school-level changes on student performance, behavior, health and school-identified priorities;
- The extent to which parental psychological well-being, parenting practices, social support and child coping strategies serve as risk or protective factors for children's academic and psychological adjustment in the face of parental job loss;
- Children's, parents' and teachers' views on how worksite closings affect children's adjustment at home and at school, as well as their future academic and vocational plans and;
- Children's, parents' and teachers' views on what support services would be most beneficial for school-aged youth experiencing family and community economic transitions.

The project serves the goals of the National Institute on the Education of At-Risk Students in several ways. First it provides an understanding of how parental job loss affects students cognitive and social adjustment, an event that places children in over 3 million households at increased risk each year. This project also addresses Invitational Priorities 1, 2 and 3. Results of this project may be used to guide the development and implementation of school-, family-and community-based collaborative efforts to provide prevention and intervention services for children affected by parental job loss.

The Toll of Unstable Work and Family Economic Strain on Our Nation's Children

Almost every region of the nation has experienced losses in a major employment sector. Examples of regional job losses in the 1970's, 80's and 90's include recessions and widespread worksite closing in midwestern agriculture, north central automobile production, southeastern textile and garment manufacturing, and northeastern and Californian high tech industries.

Work force displacement is an issue of critical scope and significance for families in the United States. Between 1991 and 1993, 3% of the civilian labor force (3.8 million workers) lost jobs they had held for three years or more due to downsizing, plant migrations, plant closings or slack work (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1995). The path to re-employment is often difficult. On the average, a displaced worker spends over 18 weeks securing a new job and 40% of these workers exhaust their unemployment insurance benefits in the interim (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1994; 1995). Downward economic mobility is an issue for families of displaced workers, since 29% of re-employed workers accept substantial wage reductions and they are also less likely to receive health benefits at their new job (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1994).

Many serious and negative effects of economic loss on adult and family adjustment have been documented. Negative effects for displaced workers in the aftermath of recent unemployment include increased symptoms of poor mental and physical health, loss of hope about the future, and increased irritability and conflict in interpersonal relations (Dooley, Catalano, & Wilson, 1994; Hamilton, Broman, Hoffman, & Renner, 1990; Kessler, Turner & House, 1987;

Leana & Feldman, 1992; Liem & Liem, 1988). When unemployment rates rise, so do rates of community mental hospital admissions, suicide, homicide, drug use, mortality, family violence and divorce (Conger & Elder, 1994; Liem & Liem, 1988; Voydanoff, 1991).

While most attention has been paid to the effects of job loss on the displaced worker, children in families experiencing unemployment are no less affected. Because job loss affects an increasing proportion of our society, and because it has significant negative consequences for school-aged youth, it is a social issue that must be explored and understood in order to provide prevention and intervention efforts for affected youth.

Existing research on children affected by parental job loss suggests that negative changes are seen in terms (a) parent-child and sibling conflict, (b) expectations for job stability as an adult, (c) depressed mood, anxiety, loneliness and low self-esteem, (d) behavior problems both at home and school, (e) school completion, (f) physical health, and (g) social support (Elder, 1974, Lempers, Clark-Lempers & Simmons, 1989, Flanagan, 1990; Flanagan & Eccles, 1993, McLoyd, 1989; Paulter, Lewko & Baker, 1987, Voydanoff, 1991).

Models of adult coping with job loss emphasize the role of economic strain and emotional supports, especially family support. It is thought that the primary negative effect of unemployment on adults are the subjective feelings of financial strain that accompany income loss (Kessler, Turner, & House, 1987; Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan, & Mullan, 1981). Under conditions of economic strain, adults become irritable, preoccupied, and tend to withdraw from social interactions. In a self-defeating cycle, the distressed person both gives and receives less positive social support. The resulting disruption and dissatisfaction with family and social network relationships exacerbate the emotional strains that were originally induced by financial loss (Conger & Elder, 1994, Liem & Liem, 1988; Ware, Jackson, & Banks, 1988).

Models of child coping with economic strain have also focused on family relationships. Perhaps the most striking consensus in the literature is that the negative effects of job loss on children are largely indirect, mediated through changes in parental mood and parenting practices that tend to occur when a breadwinner looses his or her job (Conger & Elder, 1994; Elder, 1974, McLoyd, 1989; Voydanoff, 1991).

According to the Family Model of Economic Stress (Conger & Elder, 1994), child adjustment to unemployment is best understood by looking at the home environment. The economic and role strains resulting from unemployment cause increases in parental (especially paternal) depression and anxiety, decreased spousal support, and consequently, increases in harsh and erratic parental treatment of children (Conger & Elder, 1994; Elder, 1974; Lempers, Clark-Lempers & Simmons, 1989; McLoyd, 1989; Voydanoff, 1991). Increases in punitive discipline, decreases in effective monitoring, failure to maintain family routines and conflictual and nondemocratic problem solving are all qualities of parents functioning under stress. These same qualities, unfortunately, are implicated in the development of a wide array of child adjustment problems, notably antisocial behavior, depressed mood, substance use and lowered academic achievement (Conger & Elder, 1994; DeBaryshe, Patterson & Capaldi, 1993; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Patterson, Reid & Dishion, 1992).

While parent-child relations are extremely useful in understanding the process through which children are affected by parental job loss, family interaction is probably not the only factor that plays a potentially important role in explaining children's adjustment. Studies of adult reactions have included a variety of non-familial social support factors as well as the coping strategies and cognitive response of the affected adult. Yet literature on children has done little to look at factors other than parent-child interaction as contributing to children's resilience. To address these gaps, the present study considers personal coping strategies, social network support, and community climate as additional variables that could explain children's adjustment to parental job loss.

Coping is defined as "cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (Folkman & Lazarus, 1991, p. 210). Problem-focused coping involves efforts to remove or change the threatening situation. Emotion-focused coping involves the seeking of emotional validation and support and/or changing the way one views the situation, in order to reduce perceived threat. Avoidant coping includes efforts to deny or ignore the existence of the threat, or engaging in competing thoughts or activities that make it difficult to think about the threat (Carver, Scheier & Weintraub, 1989; Folkman & Lazarus, 1991). Destructive coping strategies have also been recognized; these include venting negative emotions, aggression, blaming others, and substance use (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1991; McCubbin & Thompson, 1987; Sandler, Tein & West, 1994). Problem-focused coping is most widely effective in reducing feelings of distress in the face of challenge; however, emotion-focused coping can be more successful when the person cannot exert control over the stressful event (Carver, Scheier & Weintraub, 1989; Folkman & Lazarus, 1991). In general, avoidant and destructive coping are typically ineffective in reducing stress (Carver, Scheier & Weintraub, 1989; Folkman & Lazarus, 1991). Research on children's coping with a variety of normative and non-normative life events suggests that similar dimensions of coping behavior, as well as a similar effectiveness for different coping strategies appear by the end of middle childhood (McCubbin & Thompson, 1987; Plancherel & Bolognini, 1995; Sandler, Tein & West, 1994; Seiffge-Krenke, 1995). Children, like adults, also show stable individual differences in the kinds of coping strategies they employ when faced with stressful situations. Children as young as 8 years of age can give reliable reports of their coping strategies and these reports have shown longitudinal validity in predicting children's levels of depression and stress (Sandler, Tein, & West, 1994).

In additional to personal coping behaviors and the quality of the family environment, extra-familial settings can be important sources of support for people experiencing stress. Social network members outside of the family circle such as co-workers, neighbors, friends and schoolmates, can provide emotional and instrumental support that buffers both adults and children from sources of stress. Lack of such social support has been seen as a major contributing factor in the etiology of psychological disorders (Coyne & Downey, 1991). There is an increasing interest among developmental psychologists in the consequences for children of neighborhood and community characteristics. Often, research has been limited to demographic factors, such as the density of highly-educated neighbors (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov & Sealand, 1993; Ensminger, Lamkin & Jacobson, 1996). When one looks beyond demographic variables and considers the kinds of social interactions that occur in community settings, social support provided by teachers, school personnel, neighbors and others who are involved in youth activities and organizations is found to be an important resource. Community climate variables such as neighborly involvement, teacher interest in students' lives outside of school, and student commitment to school are associated with lower rates of problem behavior, better physical health, and better psychological well-being in neighborhood youth (Bowen & Chapman, 1996, DuBois, Felner, Meares, & Krier, 1994). While social support has received attention in the literature on adult coping with job loss, to the best of our knowledge, social network support and community characteristics have not been considered in relation to youth outcomes.

The Case of East Hawai`i

Hawai`i provides a natural laboratory for investigating the effects of parental job loss on child adjustment. One unique aspect of this locale is that Hawai`i is a place of unparalleled ethnic and cultural diversity. Approximately 72% of the state's youth are non-Caucasian, and none of the ten major ethnic groups represent over 30% of the total population (Hawai`i Kids Count, 1995). Hawai`i is also a state of increasing social and economic tensions. For example, Hawaii's juvenile arrest rate increased by 79% from 1983 to 1993, more than four and one-half times greater than the increase reported for the nation as a whole (Chesney-Lind, et al., 1995). Part of this increase has been attributed to family and community stressors caused by worksite closings.

Paired with these disheartening data on youth behavioral adjustment are recent data on children's academic performance. Only 51% of the state's 8th graders perform at or above the "basic" level on the NAEP mathematics examination (61% do so nationally); only 18% of elementary schoolchildren score in the top three stanines of the reading section of the Stanford Achievement Test; and 10% of seniors do not receive a high school diploma because they cannot pass the required state competency exam (Hawai`i Kids Count, 1995).

The current and future employment prospects for Hawaii's youth are also disappointing. The state is in the midst of it's worst budgetary crisis in history and unemployment has reached an all-time high. Lack of employment opportunities coupled with the nation's highest cost of living have led many young adults to move permanently to the mainland. Those who remain behind are increasingly limited to service-sector jobs.

Of particular importance for this project is the recent demise of the Hawaiian sugar and pineapple industries. Between the Civil War and World War II, the cultivation and initial processing of cane sugar formed the basis of the local economy, employing up to one-third of the total workforce (Hitch, 1992). Laborers recruited in waves from countries including China, Japan, Korea, Portugal and the Philippines settled in the islands, forming one of the world's most multi-ethnic societies. The plantations were largely self-sufficient units. Workers lived in small clusters of company-owned housing and until recently, were provided with rent, utilities, fuel, garden space, and even transportation as part of their employment. Employment was highly stable and residents of the plantation "camps" developed tightly-knit social support networks, sharing recreation, emotional, financial, and instrumental support (Takaki, 1983).

In the last two decades, global market competition and changes in federal price supports have brought the Hawaiian sugar industry to the brink of extinction. Between 1988 and 1995, all but 2 of the 11 major sugar companies in the state went out of business or announced a closure date. Three of these companies are located on the eastern side of the Big Island of Hawai`i, the state's largest and most agriculturally-dependent island. Hawai`i county has always had the largest percentage of children living in poverty (20% before the closings occurred); this rate is expected to rise significantly now that displaced workers have exhausted their unemployment benefits.

Hawaiian sugar provides a case study of the social effects of the passing of an industry once crucial to an area's economy. Similar changes have occurred or are occurring in farming communities across the US and in industrial sectors such as auto, steel and textile manufacturing. The Hawai`i example has much to offer in terms of providing a greater understanding of the complexities of national employment-related concerns. Hawai`i also provides a unique venue for studying family adjustment in Asian and Pacific Island American ethnic groups, which are among the most under-studied segments of the national population.

STUDY A: SCHOOL-LEVEL CHANGE

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of Study A was to provide a description of school-level indicators of adjustment in three locales. The primary locale was the school attendance districts on the east side of the island of Hawai`i (referred to locally as the Big Island). These districts (Ka`u, Hamakua, and Hilo) have been disastrously affected by the demise of the sugar industry. Comparisons were made with schools from the south and southeast areas of the island of Kaua`i. These areas were chosen for comparison because they are both rural regions with one focal town that serves as a commercial center for area sugar plantations. Both contain similar proportions of school children who come from plantation families (data based on principal's report). The difference between the two areas has to do with the continued sustainability of the plantation economy. Two of the three remaining Big Island plantations closed operations in the fall of 1994 and the last plantation closed in the spring of 1996. In contrast, the three Kaua`i plantations continued operations, although they were faced with an uncertain future and engaged in periodic worker furloughs. The purpose of the Big Island-Kaua`i comparison was to investigate possible changes in school-level indicators of student adjustment in two similar plantation communities--one in which the former economic base was defunct, and one in which the economic base was still surviving, albeit struggling. Both rural areas were also compared with trends for the state overall.

We expected that public schools in communities affected by unemployment will show negative consequences for school achievement, student behavior and student health, and that school priorities will shift to reflect these concerns. It was expected that the data for the state and Kaua`i schools would remain stable over time, while negative changes would be seen in the Hawai`i schools starting in 1993-1994 and peaking sharply in 1994-1995. Specific hypotheses were as follows:

H1 Community unemployment will be associated with decrements in school performance as seen in Stanford Achievement Test scores and failure rates on the Hawai`i State Test of Basic Competencies.

H2 Community unemployment will be associated with decrements in student behavioral adjustment as seen in rates of Class A and Class B felonies reported on campus.

H3 Community unemployment will be associated with increased stress and decreased physical health as seen in the number of visits and reasons for visits to school nursing staff.

H4 Community unemployment will be associated with systemic changes in school functions and priorities as seen by the number of students receiving reduced-cost or free lunch, the number of students receiving special education services, and changes in the principles' priorities away from curriculum issues towards increased priority on student behavior and school morale.

Method

School characteristics

School attendance zones served as the case in this analysis. Characteristics of the Big Island and Kaua`i schools, as well as schools state-wide are shown in Table 1. Overall, the Big Island and Kaua`i schools were quite similar.

Table 1
School characteristics

	Big Island	Kaua`i	State
Number of schools	19	7	244
Mean school size in 1993	761	821	749
% Hawaiian students	35	25	26
% Japanese students	14	15	13
% Filipino students	15	27	16
% Caucasian students	14	15	20
Mean family size in community	3.57	3.57	3.56
Median household income in community	19,357	21,004	21,600
% high school grads in community	64	61	69
% college grads in community	14	15	17

Measures

School-level data were obtained from the Hawai`i State Departments of Health and Education. A list of measures is shown in Table 2. School data were collected for the 1992-1993, 1993-1994, 1994-1995 and 1995-1996 academic years. Statewide data for 1991-1992 were also used to provide an extended baseline. Since most of the affected plantations closed in the fall of 1994, we were able to look at school indicators for the two years prior to mass layoffs, the layoff year itself, and the post-layoff year.

The Department of Health provided data for the 1992-1993, 1994-1994 and 1995-1996 academic years. Due to internal difficulties in data collection and computer systems management, much of the data provided were missing or incomplete. For example, the raw data for several years had been lost, and the Department could only provide tables of summarized information be county. Other key data was collected only at irregular intervals, e.g. the number of pregnant teens was provided only for 1990-1991. There appeared to be much inconsistency in how often schools reported their data, and whether data were reported individually, or aggregated across schools within a larger "complex". Thus, we were unable to provide data expressed as rates per population. Instead, we limited summary information to the percentage of reported health room visits or percentage of identified health problems.

Table 2: Measures for Study A

Hypothesis Addressed	Data Source	Measure
1	DOE	% students in stanines 1-3 on SAT math and reading scores % high school seniors passing HSTBC (state competency exam)
2	DOE	Class A & B suspensions (legal offenses committed on campus)
3	DOH	% health room visits for illness % health room visits nonhealth needs % identified health problems = abuse or neglect # of attempted or completed suicides
4	DOE	% free/reduced price lunch % in special education services

Design and analysis

Since this was a population study, descriptive rather than inferential statistics were used. The logic of the design was a 3 (Site: Big Island vs. Kaua`i vs. state) by 4 (Year: 1993 vs. 1994 vs. 1995 vs. 1996) array. Whenever possible, data were aggregated across schools. For example, to calculate the percentage of Kaua`i children on subsidized lunch, the number of children receiving lunch subsidies in all target schools was summed and then divided by the sum of the headcounts for all target schools. This aggregation procedure of weighing each school in direct proportion to school size. For some data, e.g. percentage of seniors passing the state competency exam, raw frequencies were unavailable; in such cases, the unweighted school means were used to represent the population.

Results

Results are shown in Figures 1-10 and Table 3. Contrary to our hypotheses, there was little evidence that the Big Island schools showed clear negative trends in student behavior, achievement or health. Nor did school priorities changed dramatically during the lay-off and post-lay-off years. While there were some indications that the Big Island schools showed negative change in the 1994-1995 school year, these changes were also seen in Kaua‘i and the state overall. The general pattern was for both plantation communities to mirror changes in state trends and to show less optimal adjustment than the state as a whole. The only exceptions to this trend appears to be in the areas of school priorities. During the lay-off and post-layoff years, Big Island schools were more likely to place a high priority on student achievement and behavior; these schools also emphasized parent involvement in the lay-off year.

Table 3

Top three school priorities for the academic year

	Big Island			**Kaua‘i**			**State**		
	1994	**1995**	**1996**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**
Student Achievement	47	63	79	43	71	57	67	68	57
Curriculum	74	53	47	86	86	28	68	62	28
Staff Development	31	58	37	43	14	43	50	47	43
Educational Technology	0	16	26	0	71	43	3	23	43
Student Attitude	16	16	16	43	14	28	18	13	28
Student Behavior	16	26	26	14	29	0	18	20	17
Parent Involvement/Community Relations	21	31	21	0	0	14	20	22	14
School Community Based Management	16	5	5	43	14	28	32	23	28

Figure 1

Students in Stanines 1-3 on SAT Reading

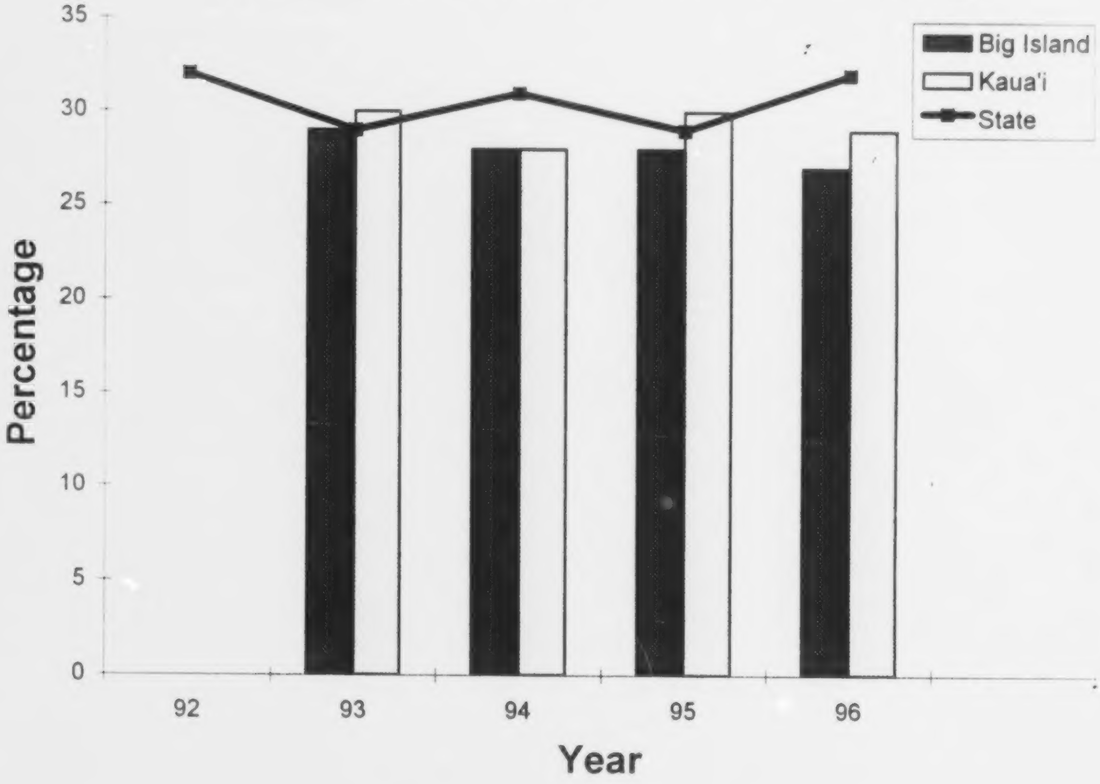


Figure 2

Students in Stanines 1-3 on SAT Math

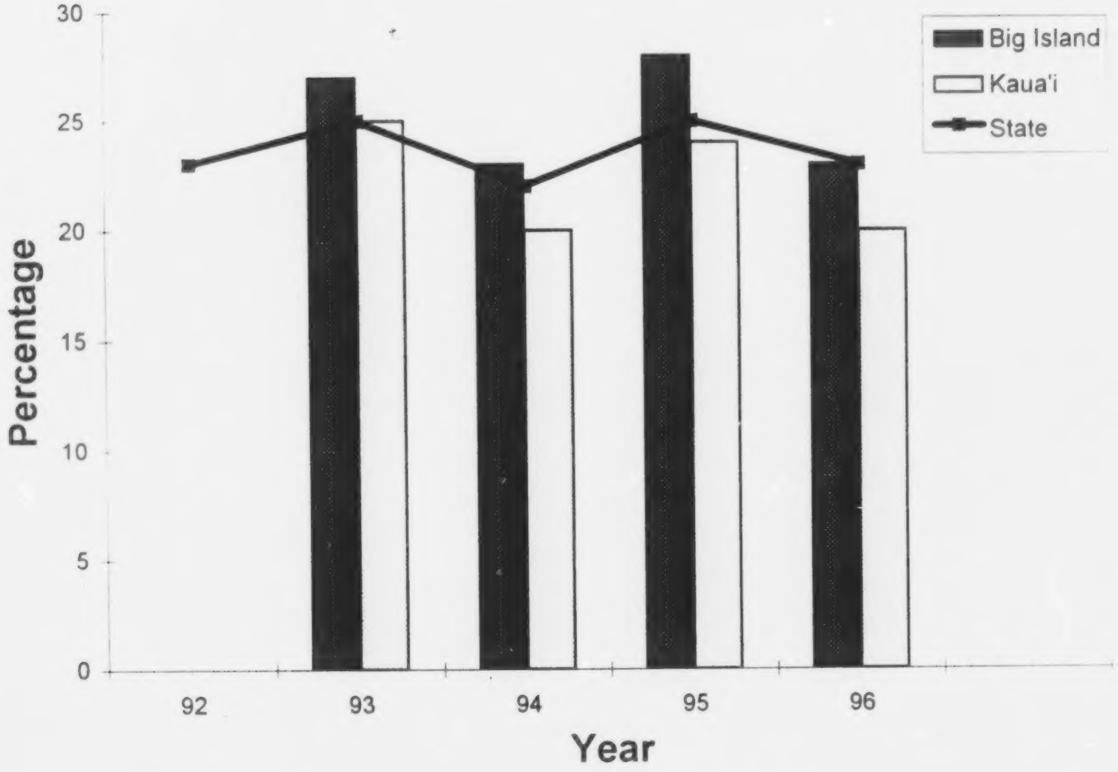


Figure 3

Seniors Passing State Competency Exam

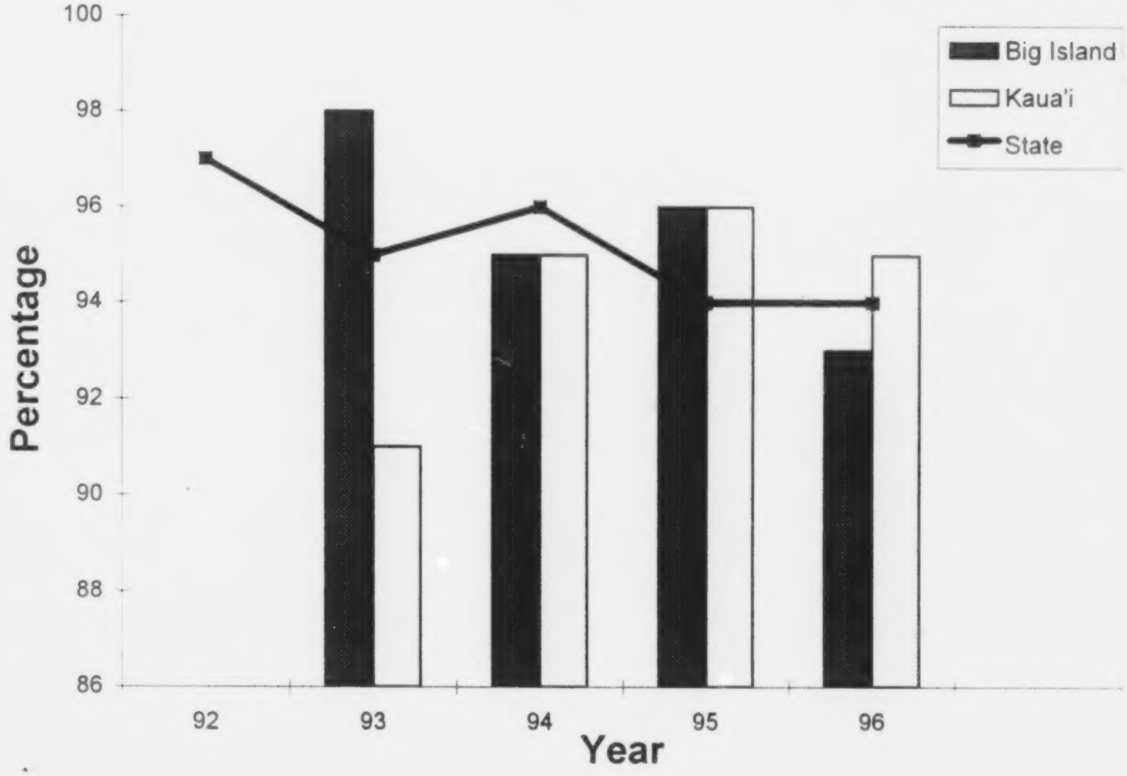


Figure 4
Class A & B Suspensions

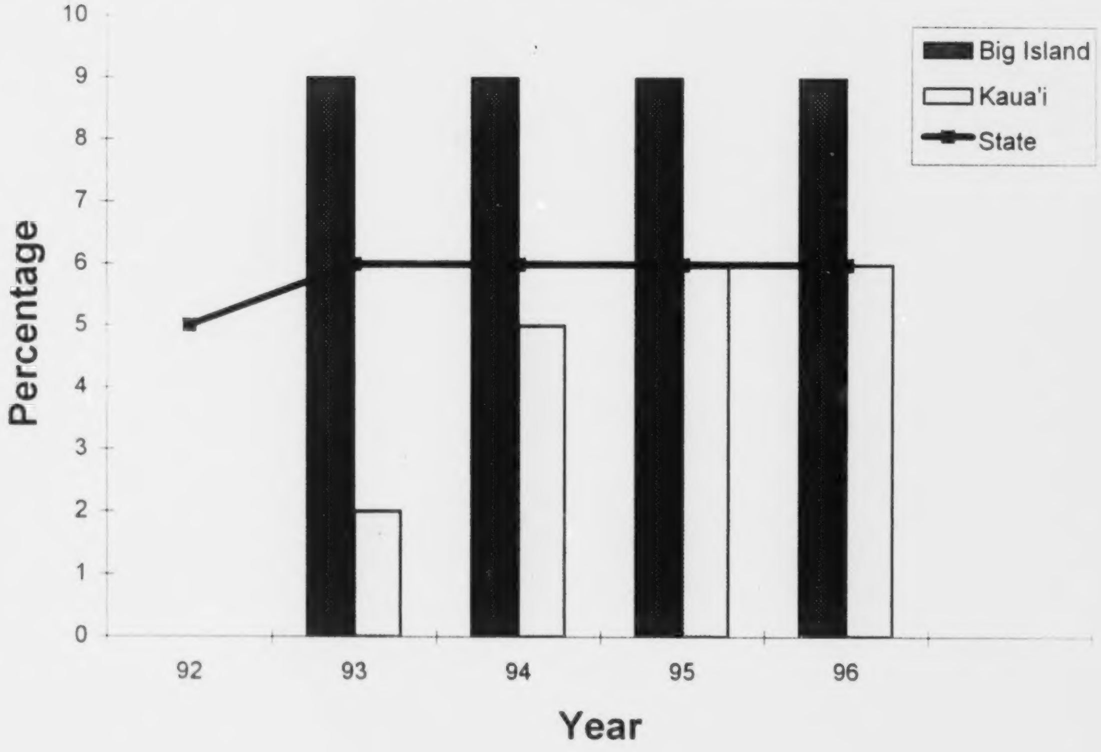


Figure 5

School Health Room Visits for Illness

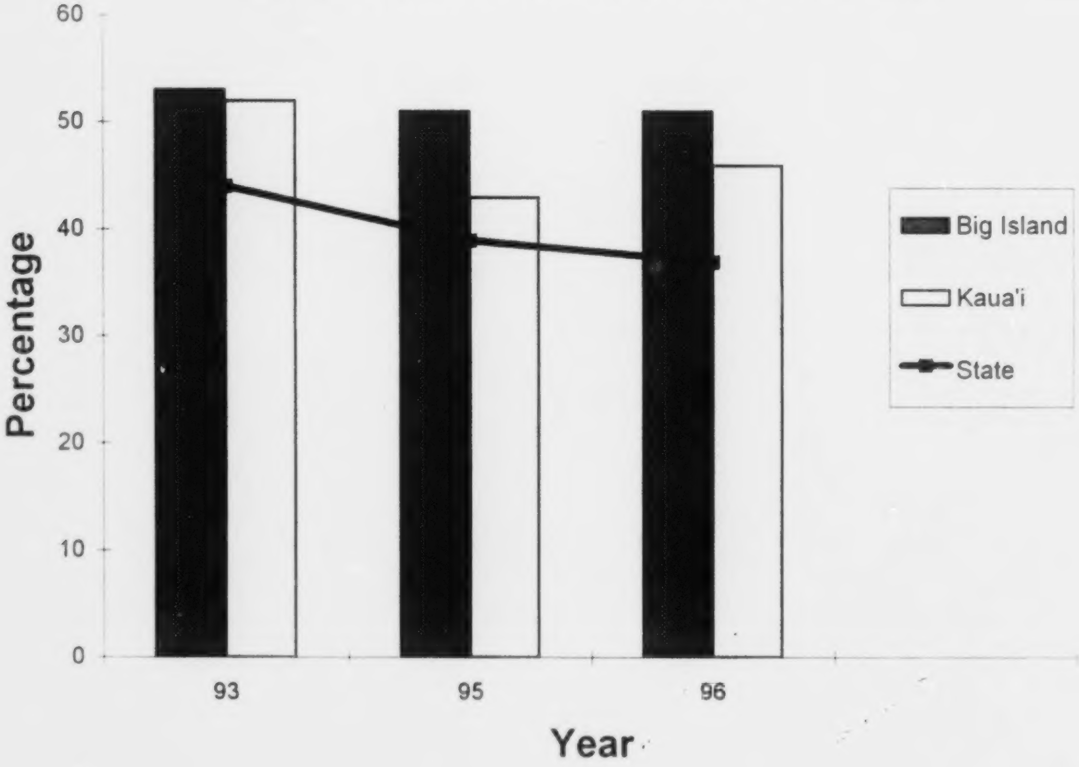


Figure 6

School Health Room Visits for Psychological Reasons

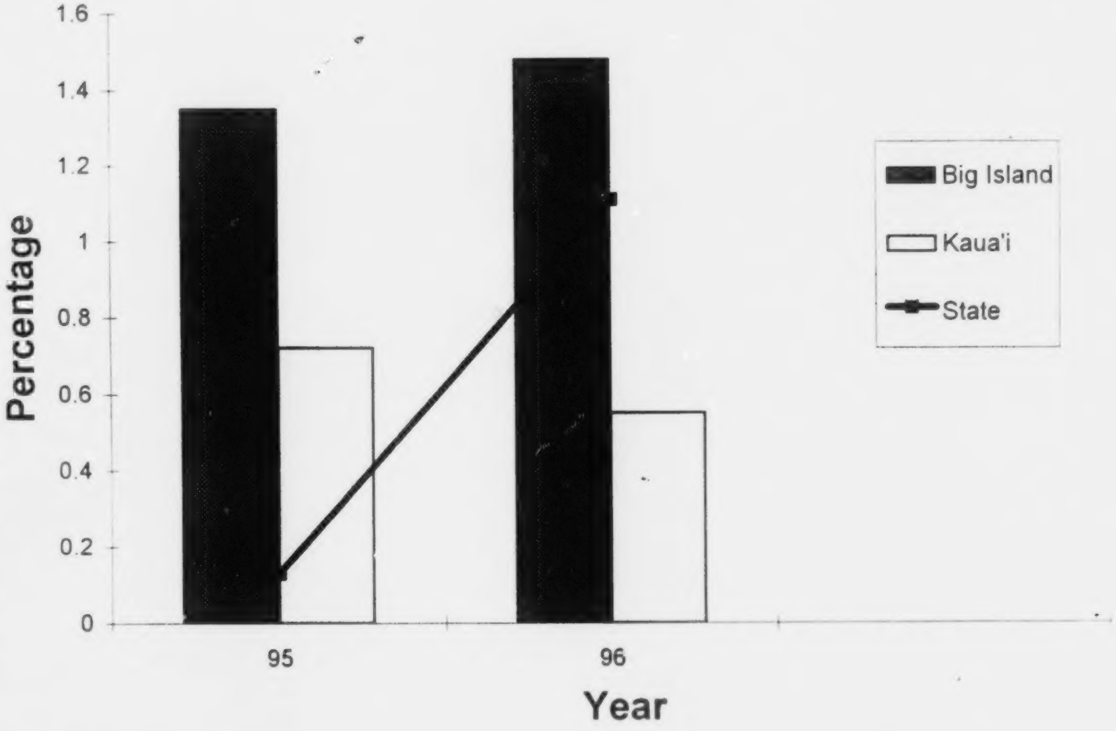


Figure 7
Children Without Health Insurance (by County)

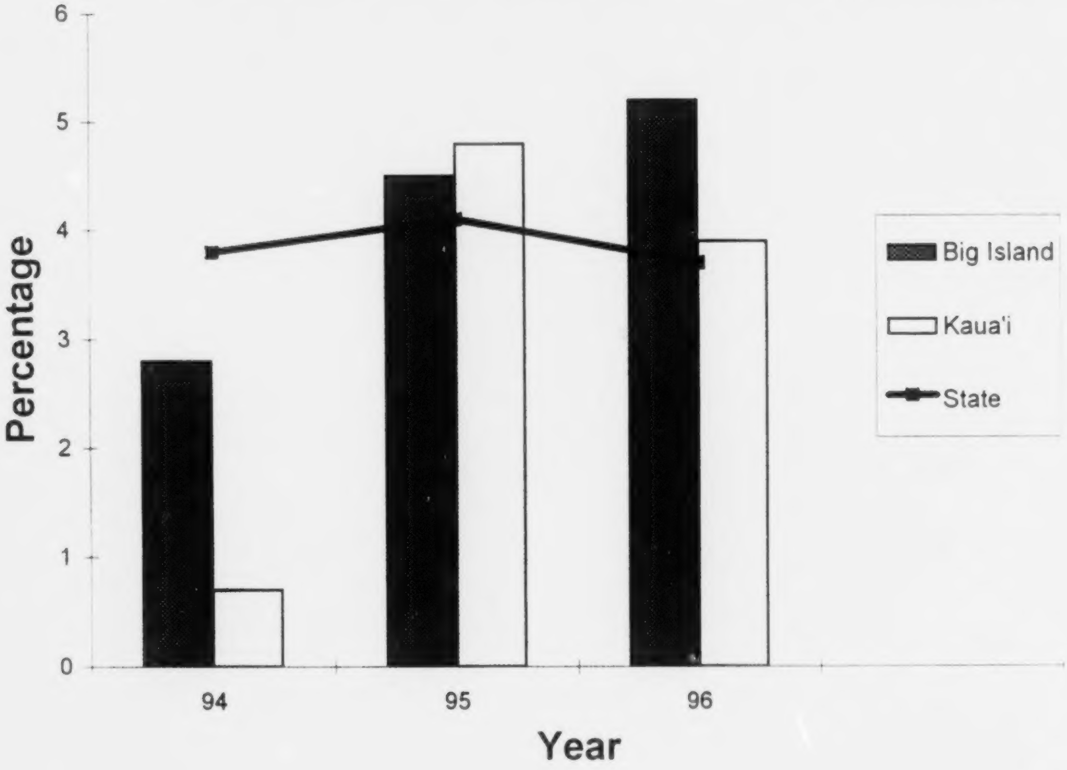


Figure 8

Child Abuse/Neglect as % of Identified Health Problems (by County)

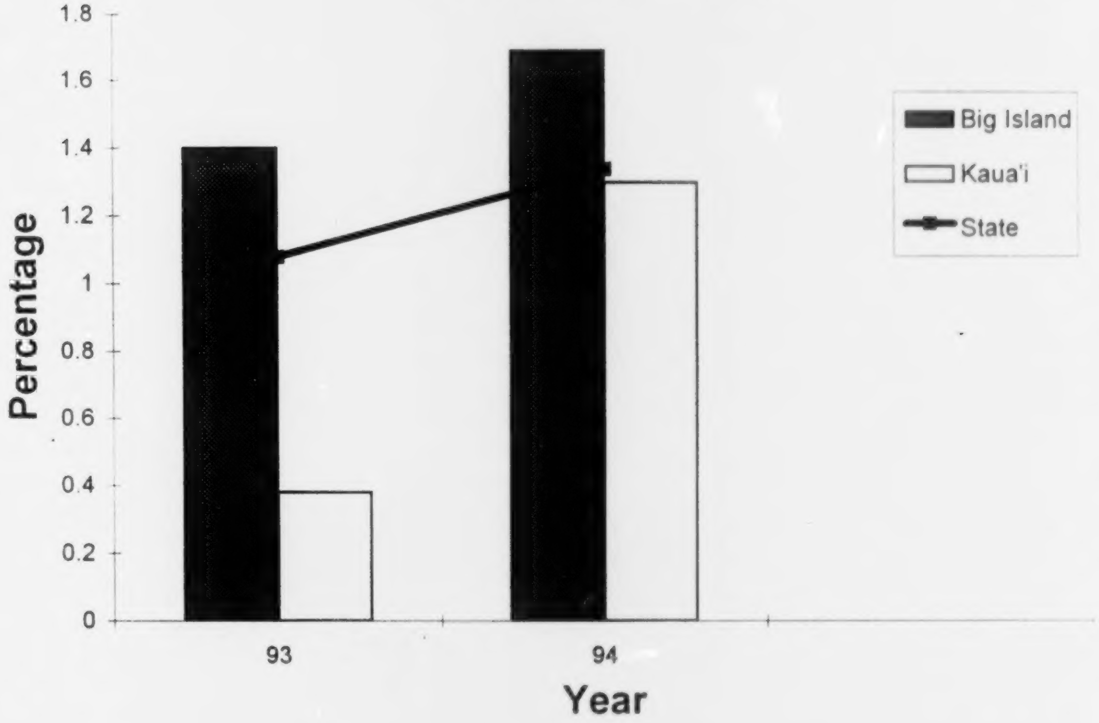


Figure 9
Students on Free or Reduced Price Lunch

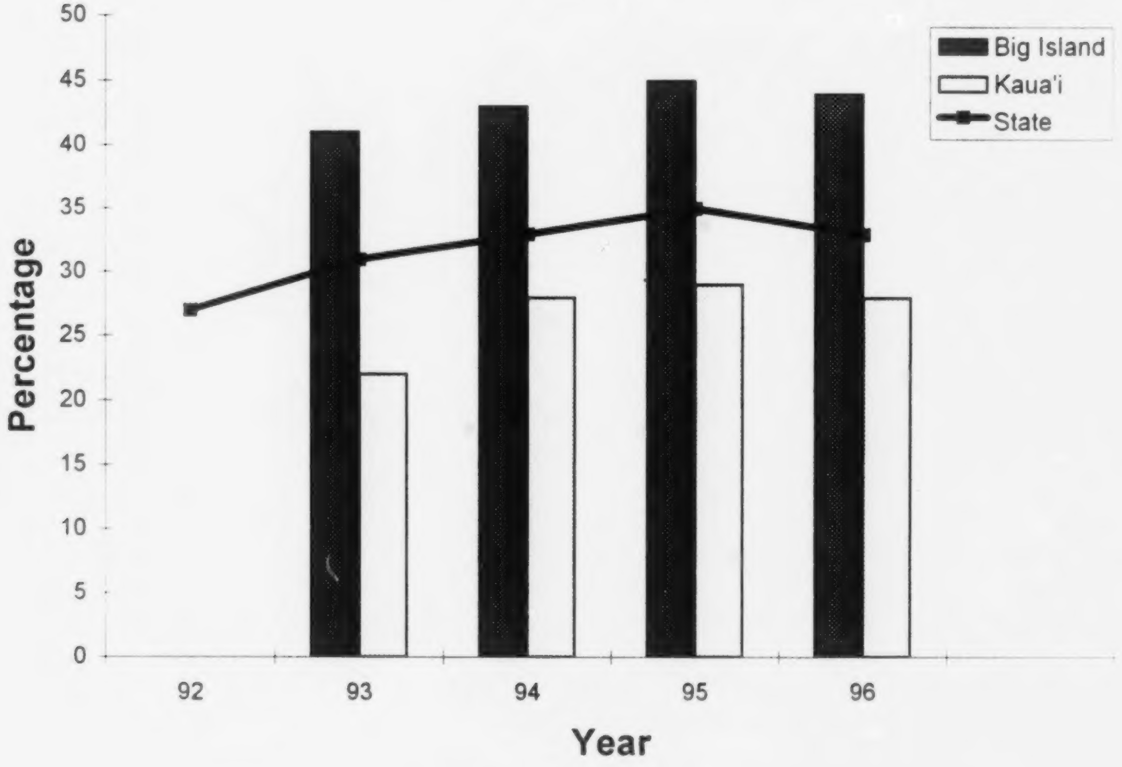
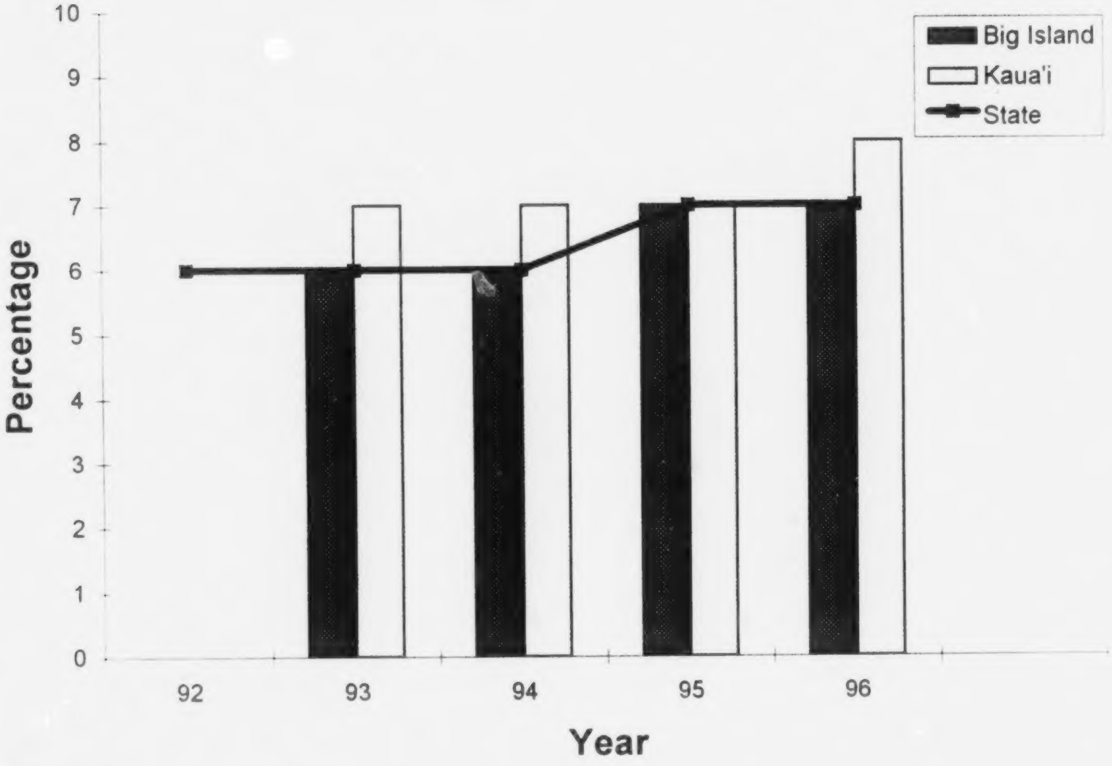


Figure 10
Students in Special Education



DISCUSSION

Overall, schools in both rural areas and on the Big Island in particular, showed somewhat less favorable characteristics than the state overall. Both rural areas had more students who failed to pass the senior competency exit exam. The higher use of school health services for acute illness suggests that rural students may rely more heavily on school health rooms as a source of primary health care. The Big Island schools had the highest percentage of students receiving subsidized lunches, and showed the most problems with suspensions involving legal offenses and cases of child abuse and neglect. These problems, however, appeared to be established well before the closing of area plantations. Nor did these problems accelerate during the lay-off year

Only a small number of variables explored fit the hypothesized pattern of negative trends in the lay-off and post lay-off years for Big Island schools. There was a clear drop in the percentage of Big Island students with health insurance. In addition, student behavior and parent involvement were more likely to be among the top three priorities of Big Island schools.

These results suggest two possibilities. One is that children are not dramatically affected by parental job loss--at least at the level of high-stakes outcomes such as SAT scores, suicide attempts, or misdemeanors and felonies committed on campus. The possibility remains, of course, that many students were affected, but in more subtle ways. A second possibility is that some children (the children of displaced workers) were strongly affected, but that children of displaced workers were not sufficiently numerous in the school population to influence the aggregated school data. Since schools as a whole were not showing large changes, it may be more fruitful to look at individual differences between students. Which of the children of displaced workers were most vulnerable and which were most resilient? This was the purpose of Study B, described below.

STUDY B: INDIVIDUAL EFFECTS

Purpose and research questions

The purpose of Study B was to provide a comprehensive quantitative analysis of stress and resiliency factors affecting youth academic and emotional adjustment to family occupational loss. In general, a negative association between family economic strain and child academic and social adjustment was expected. However, it is also expected that this relationship would be mediated by several risk and protective factors. Hypotheses tested were as follows:

H1: Family economic strain will have a negative impact on parental mental health.

H2: Parental mental health will have a negative impact on supportive parenting practices.

H3: Supportive parenting practices will be a resiliency factor. Families who show unsupportive parenting practices will see increases in child internalizing and externalizing behavior problems and lowered school achievement, self-esteem, and prosocial behavior in the face of economic loss. Families who maintain supportive parenting practices will exert a protective influence on their children.

H4: Social support including the quality of family relations, social network satisfaction, and the child's perceptions of community and school climate will be a protective factor, reducing the likelihood of negative academic and social adjustment in the face of familial economic strain.

H5: The nature of the child's coping strategies will be a third protective factor. Specifically, a pattern of coping strategies that relies heavily on problem-focused coping, seeking emotional support, seeking instrumental support, cognitive reframing and spirituality without relying on denial, avoidance, or negative catharsis will be associated with reduced problems in academic and social adjustment in the face of familial economic strain.

Method

Participants

Participants were 55 youth (27 boys and 28 girls) and their parents. All but one of these families were intact. The mean age of the youth was 14 years (range = 10 - 18 years). When asked to describe their ethnicity, 22% of the youth identified themselves as Filipino, 7% as Portuguese, 6% as Native Hawaiian, and 64% identified with multiple Asian, Pacific Island and/or Caucasian ethnic groups. The mean parental age was 43.6 years (range 30 to 63 years). Families were working class, with a median income of $33,325 in the past year. This income supported an average family size of 4.8 members, putting the mean per capita income considerably below the US average. Thirteen percent of fathers had less than a high school education, 74% held a high school diploma, and 2% held a college degree; the corresponding figures for mothers were 20%, 75%, and 5%, respectively. Approximately one-third of both mothers and fathers held a professional or trade license or were in a formal apprenticeship system. Twenty-three percent of the parents were immigrants, most often from the Philippines, and 37% spoke two or more languages.

Families were participants recruited through a larger study of the impact of work site closures on adult life (Center on the Family, 1998). At least one adult in the family was a current or former unionized employee of one of three sugar plantations located in the Ka'u, Hamakua and Hilo districts of the Big Island of Hawaii. Eighty-eight percent of the families had an adult member who had been laid off within the past 18 months; the remaining families had an adult who was awaiting termination. At the time they were interviewed, 24% of the families had no employed adult, 26% had one employed adult and 50% had two working adults.

Procedures

Mothers, fathers, and youth participated in one-on-one structured interviews of 2 hours duration that were conducted in the participants' homes. All interview staff were fluent in Pidgin (a local creole dialect); several were also native speakers of Tagalog or Ilocano and could rephrase questions in the participants' native language, if needed. Questionnaires concerning youth behavior, academic, and prosocial skills were mailed to each child's English or Social Studies teacher. Field staff collected data from children's school files for the current and previous academic years.

Measures

Most measures consisted of oral adaptations of written survey instruments. Oral administration was used due to concerns that a moderate proportion of the adults would have limited proficiency in written English. Most questions were answered using a five-point Likert-type scale, participants were trained in the use of the response scale at the start of the interview and were given a visual cue card showing the response choices. Several instruments were adapted from two widely-published longitudinal studies of family interaction and adjustment to social and economic change (Conger & Elder, 1994; Patterson, Reid & Dishion, 1992). When our adaptations required the shortening of the original lengthy surveys, questions to be retained were selected on the basis of original item analyses supplied by these researchers. A small number of items were added to these instruments to reflect cultural aspects of child rearing practices, social support techniques and subsistence living strategies that were expected to be prominent in our sample. Measures are described in detail below.

Family demographics. Youth age, sex and ethnicity were obtained as part of the youth interview. Other family demographic information was obtained from the parents.

Prior Grade Point Average. Students' grade point averages for academic subjects were collected from their school records for the entire academic year that occurred two years prior to their interview date.

Economic Strain. Six measures of economic strain were adapted from Conger and Elder, 1994 and Pearlin et al., 1981. *Mother, father,* and *youth perceptions* were 6- and 5-item scales for adults and youth, respectively, that assessed subjective evaluations of the family's ability to make ends meet (sample coefficients alpha = .74, .70, and .77). A sample item is, "My family can afford decent food and clothing." Mothers responded to a 14-item scale that measured family *money-saving strategies* during the past year (alpha = .80), e.g., "Put off going to the doctor or dentist." Fathers completed a 14-item scale that measured *negative financial events* within the past year (alpha = .75), e.g., "Dipped heavily into our savings. Finally, *household crowding*, was the ratio of household members per bedroom. A composite measure of *economic strain* was computed by averaging the z-scores of the six economic variables.

Youth coping strategies. Youth completed a 34-item coping inventory adapted from the Children's Coping Strategy Checklist (Sandler, Tein & West, 1994). Items were summed to form seven subscale scores, based on analyses conducted by Sandler and colleagues. These seven scores were subjected to a principal components analysis with varimax rotation. The first two components explained 57% of the variance in youths' responses. Component one, *active coping*, consisted of items relating to taking direct action, positive cognitive restructuring, seeking emotional and problem-focused support, and spirituality. Sample items include: "Make a plan about what to do," "Tell yourself you can handle this problem," and "Talk to someone who might understand how you feel." Component two, *passive-destructive coping*, consisted of items relating to cognitive avoidance, distracting actions, and acting out. Sample items are: "Do something to take your mind off the problem," and "Do something bad to cause trouble." Component scores for active coping and passive-destructive coping were used as the two measures of self-reported coping strategies.

Parenting Practices. Parenting practices were measured using youth-response items adapted from Conger & Elder, 1994 and Patterson, Reid & Dishion, 1992. Parallel items were asked concerning the mother's and father's behavior and attitudes toward the youth. *Authoritative parenting* included 62 items concerning problem-solving, inductive discipline, positive reinforcement, parent-child relationship quality and monitoring (alpha = .94). *Harsh discipline* (six items) included yelling, physical punishment and mood-based punishment for youth misbehavior (alpha = .75). Sample items for authoritative parenting include: "How often does your mom let you know that she really cares about you?" and "How often does your dad ask you what you think before he makes a decision that affects you?" Examples of items that measure poor discipline are: "How often does the punishment your mom use depend on her mood?" and "How often does your dad use physical punishment with you when you do something wrong?" Authoritative parenting and harsh discipline served as the two measures of parenting practices.

Supportive Social Environment. Youth report data were obtained on a *community climate* measure adapted from Conger & Elder, 1994. The scale consisted of 11 yes-no questions about school and neighborhood safety and social climate, e.g., "Your neighborhood has a problem with people stealing or trashing things," and "Kids at your school are friendly and respectful to each other" (alpha = .71). *Social network satisfaction* was measured using six youth-report items (alpha = .88). These items tapped the main theoretical domains of social support--emotional, instrumental, informational, recreational, advice and advocacy. Youth were asked to rate how satisfied they were with the support received in each domain from "the people who are important in your life." Community climate and network satisfaction were used as the two measures of environmental social support.

Parental mental health. Parental mental health was measured using the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) (Derogatis, 1993). The BSI is a widely used, psychometrically-sound self-report screening instrument for assessing symptoms of psychological distress. Parents were administered the depression, anxiety, hostility and somatic complaints scales. A high score indicated higher levels of psychological distress and potential dysfunction.

Problem Behavior. Problem behavior was measured using maternal report on the internalizing and externalizing subscales of the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach, 1991). This instrument measures symptoms of withdrawal, anxiety, depression, aggression and conduct disorder. It shows strong test-retest reliability (.89 - .93), acceptable criterion-related validity, distinguishes clinical from non-clinical populations, and has been widely used in cross-national research (Achenbach, 1991). A single behavior problem variable was formed by taking the average of each youth's *t*-scores for the internalizing and externalizing scales.

Prosocial Adjustment. Youth answered the seven-item global *self-esteem* scale from the Self Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985); this scale measures children's perceptions of overall self-worth. The response format of the Harter scale was modified to be congruent with the other interview questions (alpha = .73). Teacher reports of youth prosocial behavior at school were measured using the 30-item *prosocial skills* scale of the Social Skills Rating System (SSRS) (Gresham & Elliott, 1990). This scale shows strong internal consistency (alpha = .93 - .94), test-retest reliability (r = .85) and convergent validity with other measures of positive and problematic behavior (Gresham & Elliott, 1990). A sample item is: "The student will control his or her temper in conflict situations with peers." Youth also completed a 15-item *prosocial skills* scale, based on the Gresham and Elliott (1990) self-report measure. Sample items include, "You make friends easily," and "You take criticism or correction well" (alpha = .90). Raw scores for the self-esteem and youth report questionnaires and IQ-type standardized scores from the teacher measure were converted to z-scores and averaged to form a single *prosocial adjustment* score.

School Adjustment. Teachers completed the *academic competence* scale from the Social Skills Rating System (Gresham & Elliott, 1990). This 9-item scale measures teacher perceptions of student motivation and performance in different academic content areas. The academic competence scale shows high internal consistency (alpha = .95), test-retest reliability (r = .93), and criterion-related validity for a national normative sample (Gresham & Elliott, 1990). Each student's *grade point average* for the most recently completed academic quarter was collected from school records. The average of the z-scores for academic competence and current GPA were used to form a single measure of current *school adjustment*.

Youth delinquent activities. Youth answered a shortened 12-item version of Elliott and Huizinga's self-report delinquency scale (Huizinga & Elliott, 1986). Youth were asked how many times in the past year they had committed different index or status offenses such joy riding, or vandalism. Youth were also asked three questions about substance use: (a) their frequency of alcohol consumption, (b) the typical amount of alcohol consumed and (c) their frequency of recreational drug use including illegal drugs and over-the-counter medications. Raw scores on the Elliott delinquency scale (alpha = .75) were summed across items and converted to a z-score; the same procedure was done for the three substance use questions (alpha = .75). An overall *delinquent activity* score was formed by taking the average of the 2 z-scores.

Results

One of the most striking findings in the descriptive data were the high levels of reported problem behaviors and psychological distress. We followed Achenbach's (1991) suggestion that a *t*-score of 63 or higher on our problem behavior measures be used as a clinical cut-off score, since it efficiently distinguishes clinical-referred from non-referred children. Using this criterion, 34% of the mothers reported elevated levels of problem behavior in their children. Teachers saw many fewer children as having potential problems (16%). However, both mothers and teachers agreed that internalizing symptoms (depression, anxiety, withdrawal, somatic complaints) were more than twice as common as externalizing symptoms (aggression, antisocial behavior, oppositionality); this pattern was found for both boys and girls. It appeared that children's responses to family troubles were expressed more through sad, depressive states than through acting out. Internalizing states are more difficult for others to detect and are less distressing to parents and teachers than are externalizing problems. This suggests that some youth with problems may "slip through the cracks" if their symptoms are not recognized or acted upon.

Parents also showed elevated levels of psychological distress. Results for the BSI data indicated that 25% of men and 26% of women in the sample reported clinically elevated symptom levels on one or more of the BSI scales.

Self-reported youth drug and alcohol use was relatively low. Due to the sensitive nature of these questions, it is possible that youth under-reported actual levels of use. Ten to 15% of youth reported engaging in common delinquent activities within the past year, such as throwing rocks, petty theft and vandalism. About 5% engaged in more serious criminal activities such as assault with a weapon and selling drugs. Overall, youth had a positive view of their own prosocial skills (with an average item score of 4.05 on a five-point scale). Youth were less positive in terms of self-esteem, with an average item score of 3.77 (also on a five-point scale). This combination--a strong repertoire of prosocial skills coupled with a modest self-concept--is compatible with Asian and Pacific Island cultural norms.

Parental employment status was *not* related to youth adjustment measures (all anova's *ns*). For the sample as a whole, school grades, achievement test scores and school discipline problems did not change after the plantation closings. School absences, however, did increase over time, $F_{(2, 94)} = 4.95$, $p < .01$. Absence rates during the most recent school quarter were 60% higher than for the previous two academic years (M = 15.29, 9.24, 9.79, SD = 19.37, 9.58, 8.92, respectively).

To test the hypothesis that family economic strain would exacerbate adult psychological distress, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed. Economic strain was associated with higher levels of psychological distress in women, $r(55) = .29$, $p < .03$ and was marginally associated with distress in men, $r(53) = .24$, $p < .08$. Contrary to our hypotheses, parental psychological distress was not associated with authoritative parenting nor with harsh discipline.

Hierarchical regression procedures were used to test hypotheses concerning the roles of economic strain, coping strategies, parenting practices and social support in predicting youth adjustment. Separate models were tested for each of the four dependent variables of problem behavior, delinquent activities, prosocial adjustment and academic adjustment. Descriptive statistics and the correlation matrix for all measures used in the regression analyses are shown in Table 4.

The background variables of youth age and sex were entered at the first step of each regression model. Prior GPA was also included for the models predicting academic adjustment. Economic strain was entered at step two. The variables representing coping strategies, parenting practices, and social support, respectively, were added at step 3. Due to the small sample size, coping, parenting and social support could not be included in the same model. Instead, three models were tested for each of four dependent variables, making a total of 12 regression analyses.

Table 4

Means, standard deviations and correlations for variables

	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Age	1.00													
2	Sex	-.01	1.00												
3	Prior GPA	-.09	-.29	1.00											
4	$ strain	-.19	.12	-.01	1.00										
5	Active Coping	-.02	.09	.08	.09	1.00									
6	Passive Coping	.12	-.02	.06	-.18	.00	1.00								
7	Authoritative Parenting	-.09	-.18	.01	.14	.46	-.25	1.00							
8	Harsh Discipline	.21	-.12	.09	-.01	.10	.33	.05	1.00						
9	Community Climate	.11	.19	-.05	-.03	-.12	-.12	-.07	-.36	1.00					
10	Network Satisfaction	-.01	-.09	.04	.14	.56	-.23	.57	.27	.04	1.00				
11	Problem Behavior	-.21	.05	.06	.11	-.17	.04	-.09	.29	-.12	.03	1.00			
12	Delinquent Activity	.44	.01	-.09	.10	-.09	.27	-.15	.22	-.25	-.04	.13	1.00		
13	Prosocial Adjustment	.17	-.13	.20	.00	.44	-.29	.46	.01	.07	.51	-.27	-.15	1.00	
14	Academic Adj'stment	.16	-.04	.41	.03	.39	-.13	.28	.12	.12	.32	-.05	-.08	.63	1.00
	Mean	14.02	n/a	2.66	2.06	.00	.00	3.79	2.40	.75	4.23	55.84	-.12	-.01	.00
	SD	2.17	n/a	.66	.24	1.00	1.00	.49	.49	.18	.55	7.95	.30	.79	.89

Note. Pairwise deletion of missing variables. *n* for prior GPA = 53, *n* for academic adjustment = 54, all other *n*'s = 55. *r*'s > .26 significant at $p < .05$, *r*'s > .32 significant at $p < .01$, and *r*'s > .44 significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5

Beta coefficients and R^2 for regressions on youth adjustment measures

		Dependent Variable			
Step	Independent Variable/R^2	Behavior Problems	Delinquent Activities	Prosocial Adjustment	Academic Adjustment
1	Prior GPA	--	--	--	.42***
	Age	-.21	.45***	.21+	.24*
	Sex	.05	-.00	-.16	.05
2	$ Strain	.09	.25*	-.04	-.01
3	Active Coping	-.19	-.10	.48***	.37**
	Passive-Destructive Coping	.09	.26*	-.35**	.15
	Step 1 R^2 change	.05	.19**	.04	.21**
	Step 2 R^2 change	.00	.04	.00	.00
	Step 3 R^2 change	.04	.08+	.30****	.16**
	Full Model R^2	.09	.31**	.35**	.38***
1	Prior GPA	--	--	--	.46***
	Age	-.29*	.44***	.23+	.22+
	Sex	.06	-.02	-.05	.15
2	$ Strain	.07	.21+	-.01	.00
3	Authoritative Parenting	-.13	-.15	.47***	.31*
	Harsh Discipline	.37**	.14	-.07	.03
	Step 1 R^2 change	.05	.19**	.04	.21**
	Step 2 R^2 change	.00	.04	.00	.00
	Step 3 R^2 change	.14**	.04	.21**	.10*
	Full Model R^2	.19+	.27**	.26**	.31**
1	Prior GPA	--	--	--	.44***
	Age	-.19	.51****	.17	.19
	Sex	.06	.04	-.08	.10
2	$ Strain	.05	.19	-.02	.01
3	Community Climate	-.10	-.31**	.04	.09
	Network Support	.03	-.05	.51****	.30*
	Step 1 R^2 change	.05	.19**	.04	.21**
	Step 2 R^2 change	.00	.04	.00	.00
	Step 3 R^2 change	.01	.10*	.26***	.10*
	Full Model R^2	.06	.33***	.31**	.32**

Note. + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; **** $p < .0001$

Results of the regression procedures are shown in Table 5. Step 1, the collection of background variables, explained 19% of the variance in delinquent activities, $F_{\text{Change}} = 6.23$, $p < .004$, and 21% of the variance in academic adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 4.41$, $p < .008$. Delinquent activities were more common among older youth. Academic adjustment was higher for youth who had a high grade point average two years earlier and there was some evidence that older youth did better academically. Step 1 did not account for a significant proportion of variance for problem behaviors or prosocial adjustment.

Step 2, economic strain did not account for additional variance above and beyond the background variables for any of the four dependent measures. (Nor was economic strain significantly correlated with any of the Step 3 process variables, see Table 1.) These results do not support the hypothesis that unfavorable family economic conditions have a negative impact on youth.

Youth coping strategies entered at Step 3 explained 30% of the variance in prosocial adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 11.54$, $p < .0001$, when background measures and economic strain are controlled. The set of coping measures also explain an incremental 16% of the variance in academic adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 6.13$, $p < .004$, and a marginally significant 8% of the variance in delinquent activities, $F_{\text{Change}} = 2.68$, $p < .08$. Beta coefficients for the full models reveal the following patterns. Youth high on active coping and low on passive-destructive coping showed more positive prosocial adjustment. Active coping was associated with higher academic adjustment and passive-destructive coping was associated with greater engagement in delinquent activities. Coping was not related to behavior problems.

Parenting practices entered on Step 3 explained an incremental 14% of the variance in problem behaviors, $F_{\text{Change}} = 4.20$, $p < .02$, 21% of the variance in prosocial adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 7.04$, $p < .002$, and 10% of the variance in academic adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 3.22$, $p < .05$. Parenting was not associated with delinquent activities. The pattern of beta coefficients for the full models indicate that harsh discipline was associated with more problem behaviors and authoritative parenting was associated with better prosocial and academic adjustment.

Environmental support variables added at Step 3 explained an incremental 10% of the variance in delinquent activities, $F_{\text{Change}} = 3.50$, $p < .04$, as well as 26% of the variance in prosocial adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 9.07$, $p < .0004$, and 10% of the variance in academic adjustment, $F_{\text{Change}} = 3.40$, $p < .04$. In the context of background factors and economic strain, a supportive community climate was associated with lower delinquent activities. High social network satisfaction was associated with better prosocial and academic adjustment. Social support did not affect problem behavior.

Although economic strain did not add significant incremental variance in any of the models when added as an intermediate step, in the full models for delinquent behavior economic strain sometimes had a significant or marginally significant beta coefficient. This suggests that economic stain may interact with coping, parenting or social support in predicting delinquent outcomes. To investigate this possibility, post-hoc analyses were conducted to test for these interactions. To maintain a workable ratio of subjects to variables, separate regressions were conducted for each interaction of interest. The independent variables were age, economic strain, a single coping, parenting or support measure, and the interaction between that measure and economic strain. Variables were centered, i.e., each variable was expressed as a deviation from the sample mean, before computing the interaction term. This procedure reduces the likelihood of multicollinearity between the interaction term and its component scores (Jaccard, Turrisi & Wan, 1990).

Results indicated one significant interaction--between economic strain and community climate, $b = -2.53$, *std. error* = 1.12, $p < .03$[1]. The negative sign of the interaction coefficient suggests that a positive community climate served a resiliency function, decreasing the likelihood of delinquency as economic strain rises. To illustrate the nature of the interaction, follow-up comparisons were conducted. Economic stain was divided at three cutpoints, low (-1 SD), average and high (+1 SD), and the slopes for community climate at each level of economic strain were computed using corrections for multiple comparisons (Jaccard, Turrisi & Wan, 1990). At low levels of economic strain, community climate was not significantly associated with delinquency. At average levels of economic strain, a positive community climate was associated with reduced delinquency, $b = -.54$, $se = .19$, $t_{(50)} = 2.84$. The protective effect of community climate was even stronger at high levels of economic strain, $b = -1.15$, $se = .37$, $t_{(50)} = 3.11$.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to expand Conger and Elder's (1994) family stress model by considering coping strategies, parenting practices and community social supports as predictors of positive youth adjustment in the face of parental job loss. The most unexpected finding in this sample was that family economic strain had a very limited impact on youth adjustment. When age and sex were controlled, economic strain did not have an incremental effect on any of the four measures of youth adjustment. Nor was financial strain associated with the quality of youth coping strategies, parenting practices, or community social supports. Finally, parents' symptoms of psychological distress were, surprisingly, unrelated to their child-rearing practices. These result stand in contrast to data reported for rural Caucasian (Conger & Elder, 1994; Lempers et al., 1989), rural African American (Brody, Stoneman, Flor, McCrary, Hastings, & Conyers, 1994) and urban African American families (McLoyd et al., 1994) in which financial strain had indirect effects on youth adjustment via parental mood and child-rearing practices and/or smaller direct effects.

Why should economic strain function differently in the present sample? One possibility is that parents kept their children unaware of the extent of family financial problems. In qualitative data not reported in this paper, parents consistently expressed fears that their children felt deprived of material goods and recreational opportunities. Despite their desire to buffer their children from financial worries, parents did not appear to be successful in concealing family money problems. Forty-one percent of the youth reported being worried or very worried about their family's economic situation. A second, and more likely explanation is that youth were more deeply affected by the plantation closing than they were by their family's economic level per se. The closings had deep financial and social consequences for the entire community. In addition to their nuclear family, kin, peers, and neighbors were affected. These widespread changes may have been more salient to the youth than their family's specific economic situation. A third possibility is that monetary resources are less closely linked to social status in the plantation communities than is typically found elsewhere. The locale had no malls, no clubs, and few stores more fashionable than a national discount chain. There were limited opportunities to engage in conspicuous consumption, and even if one did, these community members shared cultural rules that prohibit the flaunting of one's good fortune. A fourth possibility is that insufficient time had elapsed for the impact of financial decline to be felt completely. Financial strain may be strongly linked with youth adjustment only after prolonged exposure to diminished economic conditions, which had not had time to occur in this sample.

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[1] Unstandardized coefficients are reported as the interpretation of beta weights for centered variables differs from the interpretation for uncentered variables.

A final explanation for the inconsequential role of financial strain may lie in the kind of communities studied. Foa and Foa (1973) outline six basic classes of resources that contribute to quality of life: love, status, information, money, goods and services. Modern urban environments are specifically designed to maximize the ease of exchanging money, information and goods. Small, slower-moving, less developed environments excel in providing opportunities to exchange love, status and personal services. Foa and Foa further suggest that "the provision of psychological resources may reduce the demand for economic ones while, at the same time, increasing satisfaction" (p. 23). Following this argument, it is proposed that affection, a sense of belonging, and emotional support were readily available to the youth in this study, both at home and outside the home, and this support counteracted deficiencies in available economic resources. In support of this argument, we found that the majority of youth in the study felt very adequately supported by their families and social networks. Over 90% of youth reported being satisfied or highly satisfied with their family relationships, 75% with their school and community environments, and 85% with support received by social network members. Data from the larger study that are not reported in this paper also showed that family members rallied together after the plantation closings, and were conscious of the need for mutual emotional support. In the words of one father, "It's sad what [we're] going to lose but sometimes we have to put sadness on the side and start showing love. When you start to show love it creates such good things."

In terms of what did predict youth adjustment, the target variables of the study--coping, parenting and community supports were quite effective. Youth coping strategies were found to be robust predictors of adjustment. Active coping strategies, which included seeking social support, taking direct action and cognitive reframing were associated with higher prosocial and school adjustment. Passive-destructive coping was a vulnerability factor associated with lower prosocial adjustment and greater engagement in delinquent activity. These results are consistent with other studies on children's coping with both major and minor negative life events. In general, coping strategies akin to our active coping are associated with better adjustment, while strategies similar to our passive-destructive coping, e.g., withdrawal, avoidance, emotional venting, and acting-out, increase the likelihood of negative adjustment (Plancherel & Bolognini, 1995; Sandler et al., 1994; Seiffge-Krenke, 1995). In the present study, the strength of these associations is somewhat higher than those reported with other samples. This may be due to the fact that the plantation closings were experienced by everyone in the sample; other studies used naturally occurring events that varied in type and frequency across participants.

Consistent with a large literature in the etiology of antisocial behavior and affective disorders (Patterson et al., 1992; Barber, Olsen & Shagle, 1994), harsh parental discipline was associated with a higher likelihood of behavior problems. Authoritative parenting was a resiliency factor associated with more positive prosocial and school adjustment. Thus, our results confirm some aspects of the family stress model--namely that supportive parenting during economic downturns enhances youth outcomes. The authoritative parenting style has been shown to have positive associations with youth behavior, self-concept and academic adjustment across a variety of ecological niches defined by ethnicity and social class (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1991). The present results provide additional support for the notion that authoritative parenting is adaptive in all or most situations by showing it has positive benefits for Asian and Pacific Island American youth faced with the particular challenge of parental job loss.

Finally, social support at the levels of both network membership and community climate were important resiliency factors. Higher satisfaction with network support predicted more positive prosocial and academic adjustment. School and neighborhood climate played an important role in predicting delinquent activities. A positive community climate was associated with reduced delinquency, and this protective role increased as family economic strain rose. This suggest that supportive and cohesive communities are especially important for at-risk youth, a pattern that has been found in several other studies. School and neighborhood social support can buffer youth in impoverished neighborhoods (Bowen & Chapman, 1996) and are especially effective for youth experiencing multiple forms of socioeconomic disadvantage or major negative life events (DuBois et al., 1994). Thus, neighborhoods have important social assets that should not be overlooked since community is a crucial context for positive youth adjustment.

The limitations of this study must be noted. First, the measure of network support used did not assess the identity of network members. Thus, network support represented an unanalyzed amalgam of family members, friends, teachers and community members. Second and more important are the limitations resulting from the modest sample size. The sample size did not allow for an exploration of possible interactions between the resiliency and vulnerability factors studied with youth age or gender. While exploratory analyses not reported in this paper suggested that coping, parenting and supports did not function differently for boys and girls nor for older vs. younger adolescents, it may be the case that such patterns would emerge in larger samples that have greater statistical power. Nor did the sample size allow for a comparison of the relative impact of coping, family and community support factors. Finally, these data were cross-sectional. Stronger causal inferences could be made with longitudinal data.

Despite these limitations, the study provides an informative view of adjustment process in rural Asian and Pacific Island American youth. It contributes to a greater understanding of family adaptation to job loss and related community change as well as to the understanding of a neglected demographic sector of the US population. The implications for prevention or intervention efforts are clear. The data suggest that focus should be placed on (a) teaching youth to use more effective action- and cognitive-oriented coping strategies, (b) teaching parents to refrain from erratic and explosive discipline and to rely instead on authoritarian parenting techniques, and (c) strengthening communities and assisting youth to recognize and take advantage of community supports. There is room for optimism about the likely impact of such efforts since effective therapy and teaching strategies are currently available in the areas of coping, parent education and community empowerment.

STUDY C: VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Purpose and research questions

The purpose of Study C was to provide an qualitative analysis of child, parent, and teacher views on the effects of the plantation closings on children's home and community life, and on their educational and vocational trajectories. This study also provided insight on each audience's views as to what sources of support would be, or would have been most helpful for youth experiencing community and family transitions. In this qualitative phase of the research, adults, children and youth in the affected communities were interviewed one-on-one in the home, and the insights of teachers in schools serving this population were sought through initiating focus groups where the educators could come together in an informal setting and discuss the problems they had observed among affected students, as well as the methods employed to address these problems.

The primary goals of Study C were:

- To learn whether or not parents, teachers, and the youth themselves had observed any changes in youth emotions, attitudes, behavior and adjustment since the plantation closings, and if so, what those changes were;
- To learn about youth's future educational and vocational plans, and whether these plans had been affected by the plantation closings;
- To learn whether parents and youth perceived any changes in family climate and family life.
- To identify any changes that teachers, parents and youth had noted in the affected communities at or since the time of the closings;
- To gather information about how schools and community groups responded to any difficulties the youth had, and what the effects of the response were thought to be; and
- To collect parents', youth and teachers' insights on strengths and weaknesses in the schools' and community response and determine which programs or activities might have been more helpful than those employed.

Teacher focus group method

Three focus group sessions were held on March 17, 18, and 19, 1997 on the island of Hawai'i. Participating teachers represented a good cross-section of elementary and secondary educators by age, sex, duration of tenure at their school and subject taught.

In recruiting for the groups, potential participants were initially contacted via letters distributed through the cooperation of the Department of Education, State of Hawai'i. Interested teachers then returned postcards indicating their willingness to participate in the study, and follow-up contacts with them were carried out by Center on the Family staffers who recruited potential attendees in the order their postcards had been received. A total of 24 teachers took part in the sessions (approximately 30 had signed up to participate but a few had to cancel on the day of the interview because of illness or other personal difficulty).

Two of the focus group sessions were held in church meeting halls (in the rural communities of Honokaa, and Pahala, in the Ka'u District). The third took place at St. Joseph's High School, in Hilo. Groups were moderated and analyzed by Barbara Sunderland, consultant to Center on the Family and an experienced focus group moderator and analyst.

Each group was about two hours in duration; the proceedings were audiotaped for review by the study client and to serve as a permanent record of the discussions. Participants were paid $50 each in thanks for their time and contributions to the study goals.

Results of teacher focus groups

As with all qualitative research, the findings to be presented in this report should be viewed as indicative rather than definitive. The emphasis in a focus group study is on the quality of what the participants express and the intensity of their conviction rather than on taking counts of how many said one thing or another. Nonetheless, the importance of any observation becomes more pronounced as it emerges spontaneously in more than one session, or if there is significant agreement from most participants present.

The research discussed in this report is based on three focus group sessions: one with teachers from Honoka'a, a rural area on the northern Hamakua coast of the Big Island; one with teachers from Pahala, also a rural community located in the Ka'u district south of Hilo; and the third with educators teaching in the small city of Hilo, where the schools draw from several outlying agricultural communities as well as from the central urbanized town. (In that final session held in Hilo, a couple of teachers representing smaller, country schools were also in attendance.)

For many of the topics covered in the discussions the views of the teachers were similar or identical, no matter which locale or school participants represented. Opinions frequently ran a parallel course and there was substantial agreement about the problems families faced after the plantation closures, the reactions of the children and youth involved, and the ways in which the schools had responded. Most of the research results reported below will therefore consist of aggregate findings, based on the outcome of all three focus groups combined. When there were important differences that appeared related to the circumstances of the community under discussion, those distinctions are noted in the text.

How the Teachers View their Communities

The moderator opened each day's proceedings with a request that participants describe the flavor of their community, what daily life is like for those who live and work there. Nearly all of them used similar words or expressions to explain the quality of rural life on the Big Island. Often, there was a good deal of affection expressed about the land and the people, not only from those born and raised in the area -- some attendees were the children of plantation employees -- but also from the outsiders who had migrated there from Oahu or Maui, or the mainland US or other countries.

They talked about community residents as being so staunchly rural and self-contained that it's not unusual to encounter families with little experience beyond their own plantation "camp" or village, people who rarely go to Hilo or Kailua-Kona, let alone to Oahu or beyond. They described a strong family life, close-knit relationships within the home and between all residents of the camp, and a drawing together when trouble emerges. Some also talked about the environmental attributes of life in those villages, that there is fishing and hunting and the serenity of open space and scenic vistas.

The following are examples of the descriptions the teachers offered to illustrate life in the camps and villages of the Big Island:[*]

"Over here we can go fishing and hunting, go off to the pastures and ride horses. Over here you can leave your doors open. You can raise your kids without fearing something will happen to them."

"I chose to come out here from the other school. I pursued it. I'm a rural kind of person. My impression was one of warmth, of very tight, close-knit families that are very prideful people and with every right to their pride. There's an incredible amount of talent here. It's not only mental ability, but there's an artistic talent here. They're real expressive, real open. I LOVE this community! The parents seem to be teaching so many other children. Everybody is an auntie here. The community raises these kids. They don't have a lot of material things but these kids are rich."

"Our children don't say they come from this subdivision or that subdivision, they say they come from such and such a camp. We still have that type of closeness in our communities. If you know plantation housing, it's so close together, you cannot breathe in your house without the other person knowing how many breaths you took. It's an advantage and disadvantage. There's someone to rely upon. It's a disadvantage in that they know each other's sorrows. The closings brought them all together."

"When I went to California for college and my new friends would ask me where I came from, I described Honoka`a as a very, very, small rural community. One street, one post office, a couple of supermarkets, three gas stations, one library. They got a feel for it. I really think we are still pretty much a one-street town, but now it's a displaced plantation town. We still have all the plantation families here, but they are unemployed."

Asked to describe how the communities had evolved since the plantations began to phase out and close, a number of important changes were cited. These included the "gentrification" of the camps' environs- that people were moving in from the Mainland or from other islands, thus driving up the cost of land and housing well beyond the amount the displaced workers can afford, changing the character and demographics of the rural areas from agricultural-based communities into "bedroom" towns where the new residents can enjoy country living at the same time they're able to commute to Hilo or Kona for work.

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[*] Participants' comments are presented verbatim except for occasional editing/paraphrasing for the purpose of readability or to protect the speaker's anonymity

Teachers also have observed a number of families moving from their long-occupied plantation housing into Hilo or another town on the island, where they are compelled to move in with relatives because they haven't the resources to live on their own. One attendee called them the "hidden homeless" and told of a student who now lives in a household of 15 persons, her own displaced family along with the relatives who already occupied the dwelling. He claimed this was not uncommon.

Some of the displaced sugar workers have retained their plantation camp housing, teachers said, but now have to commute to Hilo, Kailua-Kona or the Kohala coast, to go to their new jobs, often as service employees in the resorts and hotels. They talked about the disruption this has caused for people who were accustomed to a lifetime of going "just up the road" to their jobs, and whose children formerly had adult supervision during after-school hours.

"The only problem I see with these families is that in some of them the parents have two or more jobs and they no longer see their family members as often as before. The kids are then doing other things, maybe negative ones, are going for another way of life because they don't have the attention they need from the parents."

"My kids grew up with friends from the plantation communities. There was summer fun, the after-school programs at the gym, and so on. But the push came from us. The families now are so busy working and working two or three jobs down at the hotel and they are not home for these kids."

"Less quality family time and there's many families without medical insurance now. I have several special ed students whose families have been unemployed since the closure."

"All the parents are commuting to work, to Kona. So that is real different from what they're used to, just driving down the road. A family I know, the mom works in Hilo, the dad too, so they don't have their parents home to supervise. They don't have as much supervision as they had before."

Many of the focus group participants observed that losing a job with a sugar company requires adjustments substantially more profound than what is usually involved in a loss of employment. Because the plantations offered work, housing, community, medical care, social events and the range of benefits and services that are provided in a "company town," those who were displaced lost an entire way of life, the teachers said, far more than merely a paycheck.

That paternalism of the plantations was cited by several attendees as a precedent that makes displaced workers particularly vulnerable to long-term dependence on welfare, a condition they perceived as precarious, both because of welfare's inherent unpleasantness as a way of life, and also because the entitlements are threatened by current and proposed government policies In all three sessions the teachers' estimates of welfare dependency at present ranged from "about 50 percent" of the displaced families to "most" of them.

A critical barrier to gaining new employment, participants said, has been the obvious difficulty in shifting from the skills valuable in sugar production to the skills necessary for hotel and resort employment, or in other jobs where public contact is an important part of the task. They also talked about supply exceeding demand in the Big Island job market, and how poorly prepared the camp residents are to compete against applicants with more sophisticated backgrounds.

"I don't think they can find so many jobs now. When the plantations went out the hotels were already staffed. They had to take only the openings that came up and I think a lot of them have had a hard time finding alternative work."

"I know several adults, males in their 40s and 50s, who cannot read, cannot write, and they were darned good workers at the plantation. They do not have the skills to go down for a job interview at the hotels. They lack social skills, they cannot speak to the public, they cannot fill out forms and they are good people. They used to make good money. They got overtime and they were able to provide well for their families. There are many here who are illiterate."

"All those hotels can draw from Kona, which is only 20 miles away and the population is 50,000 plus. There's a lot of competition. When there's a job open down there, I'm sure there's over 50 applicants per job."

"They're good workers but they are not hotel workers. They are looking to farm or to work in the slaughterhouse or something like that."

Although the vast majority of the focus group participants felt that the changes brought by the closures had a profound and devastating effect on the workers and their families, there were a small number who disagreed with the contention that replacement jobs have been hard to find, that money is scarce and that the quality of life for affected households has been sharply diminished. This minority believes employment opportunities exist if the former sugar workers had greater motivation to travel away from the camp to a more distant place of work. Again, the dependency attitude fostered over generations of plantation support was blamed for causing residents to believe they would and should be looked after for a lifetime.

In Pahala, the teachers said they had noted few economic stresses among the students; they felt that, in general, money seemed in no shorter supply than in the years before the closings and in some cases they said the youth appeared better off financially than before. They weren't certain whether this was a result of sacrifices the parents were making for their children or whether new (and not always desirable or legal) ways of earning a living had been undertaken.

Effect of the Closures on Student Behaviors

The teachers had noted both positive and negative outcomes they thought were likely related to the closing of the plantations and that event's impact on family life in the camps and rural villages. Not surprisingly, most of the changes they'd seen were not on the positive side of the ledger. (In both Hilo and Honoka'a, however, the educators in the sessions underscored the frequent difficulty of isolating behaviors directly linked to children and youth from the plantations. Both schools draw from communities outside the agricultural districts too, and the background of every student was not always known to the teacher.)

Among the positive effects some had observed were an increased interest in ROTC and post-high school military service opportunities, a greater number of young people who were looking outside the community in anticipation of working elsewhere (some teachers saw that as a positive, some as a negative) and occasional evidence of a more serious attitude toward higher education either at Hawaii Community College or at a four-year institution off island. Unfortunately those anecdotes were in the minority, though.

Most often the teachers discussed the more gloomy results of the closings, the attitudes of hopelessness and aimlessness that they fear will keep students from reaching their potential. Among the negative outcomes brought up in the focus groups were family tensions and squabbling; the proliferation of drug usage; poor self-image and self-esteem; financial problems; an absence of knowledge about and interest in the world outside of the plantation; and insufficient motivation for learning a trade or seeking higher education. While not all of these problems were viewed as being caused by the demise of sugar, most thought they were worsened by it, at the least. Each will be discussed in more detail in the paragraphs to follow.

Family tensions. Throughout every focus group session the teachers cited effects of the closing that led to extreme stress within the households of the displaced workers. Shortages of cash, food budgets that were squeezed, the loss of medical benefits, a lack of problem solving skills, parents having to hold two or more jobs, and numerous other outcomes were described as leading to quarrels between parents and children and possibly even some cases of abuse:

"I think the self esteem of the child is very important and if the parent feels bad, the child will feel bad."

"I think we've all heard of abuse cases where's a lot more squabbling in the family and the kids are coming to school upset. I think right after the sugar company closed, that first year, we had a real epidemic of it."

"There's more alcohol abuse, the kids talk about it."

"They're not provided for. They've lost their free medical, they don't have enough food, even with the food bank at the church, and we've had a tremendous increase in the drug trade, and many are involved in that."

"I had a student who came to school last year very troubled. Dad has a temper problem and there was a whole ruckus at home the night before because the boy had brought a friend home and gave him the hot dogs in the refrigerator. And those hot dogs were for dad, which caused a big family dispute because that was the dad's food. They lacked food in the house! It's very hard to teach them in the classroom because they are unhappy, they don't feel good about themselves. The same boy is now in trouble with the law and has made several court appearances. By chance he hasn't gone to boys home yet, but this is where they're coming from."

"I've taught health classes over the years and last year asked the kids whether they are dealing with substance abuse. I ask 'How many kids last night, how many parents, got drunk' and I get three, four, five, six hands. 'How many kids got beat up?' Same thing. I don't know whether this is common but it doesn't seem normal to see that much abuse."

A couple of the participants presented their view that there have always been more plantation families living "on the margins" than would likely be found among the population at large, that drinking, fighting, marital strife, child abuse and even incest were not unknown even during the years the plantations were thriving. No one argued with that perception, but most made it clear they believed the closures exacerbated and widened what had previously been a rarer occurrence.

Drug Use. The problem of drug proliferation and abuse emerged spontaneously in all three groups. Although it was listed on the moderator's topic outline as a possible problem to explore, the subject came up on its own when teachers began to describe community problems.

According to what the attendees have observed, marijuana (pakalolo) has been adopted as a cash crop for a proportion of the families who lost their employment, and who, as a result, may now be enjoying economic benefits that exceed what they earned in the fields.

"Marijuana is a cash crop for us. Our students know what our parents do. Our students help our parents. Our parents help our students. We're into teaching values and I'm trying to tell them what values are and give them a topic. In fact this just happened last week. They're talking about legalizing marijuana and they're telling me about things they already know. . . a 15-year old child telling me what the parents are doing at 40, telling me what the grandparents are doing at 60. And it is a family business."

"It's so open it's unreal!"

"When the teachers were talking about going out on strike some of the students said 'I'll make more money than you ever do. . . from my plants."

"It's a hidden resource that people close their eyes to because it sustains their economy. Without it they don't have a Christmas, they don't have a tractor, they don't have feed for their pig. And that's what these kids are doing. The student says to me "Well, my dad is growing it because he says we wouldn't have our Christmas without it, we wouldn't have our car without it. And I'm not going to go to college without it."

"I think the attitude IS related to the closing. It wasn't here four years ago. . . just one or two kids strutting around and saying "Yeah, I'm doing it." But the majority of them, if they were involved, were a lot quieter. My perception is that we have a number of parents who are out there making an income and the kids are fully aware of it and it's being accepted. 'This is the way we're going to make ends meet,' and I don't doubt that some of these people are doing better now than they were when they were with the sugar companies. The message coming down to these kids is a pretty scary one. Pretty hard to get them off to college when they see their dad making more money now than he ever did driving a cane truck."

In addition to their concerns about the commercial production of marijuana, the teachers also expressed chagrin about increased drug abuse among their students. They believe usage has become far more open, far more widespread and is increasingly reaching down into the lower grades.

"I think 50 percent of our campus, in high school, is using drugs."

"The illegal drug usage in my classroom has gone up. And it's not just pakalolo either. At first they would hide, or they'd be embarrassed or ashamed if they were stoned. Now it's 'I'm high and I'm walkin' around. And I'm gonna do it right outside the teachers' meeting.' "

"I think the drugs were here already. But these teenagers feel so poorly about themselves now. There's no money; there's nothing to do here for them."

"We had a graphic representation the other day when we had a group from Oahu come, called Men of War, strong beefy guys who are anti-drug. About 800 kids were there in the auditorium and one guy asked how many had smoked marijuana or have been around others smoking marijuana. I swear I saw every hand go up! I was floored!"

The teachers admitted that drugs were a problem even prior to the closings. Some felt certain that the increases they've seen over the past few years are directly related to the plantation closings and the hard times that followed. Others were less sure, noting that drug use among children and youth has become more commonplace everywhere, that it is therefore difficult to link causes and effects. Whichever way they leaned, however, the teachers clearly list drug abuse close to the top of the list of problems affecting the youth of the community.

As a footnote to the discussions about substance abuse, teen pregnancies were also cited as a too-frequent occurrence that had risen dramatically about the time of the plantation shut-downs and immediately after. Although some said the problem seems to be lessening right now, a couple of participants told the moderator that East Hawaii recently had the highest per capita rate of teen pregnancies in the nation.

Self Esteem. The image students hold about themselves was not a direct topic for the discussions, but remarks about it came up frequently as peripheral to the various issues talked about. The relative isolation of living in an agricultural district, being the child of parents who may remain unemployed, depending on welfare and/or having to use food stamps to buy groceries, and not having a plan for the future were all mentioned as having a deleterious effect on the way the youth in the plantation communities view themselves, their worth and their potential.

On the positive side of that issue, though, the teachers said that students almost never seem to judge one another by material goods, that support and tolerance are shown, peer-to-peer, toward those who are experiencing the family's economic diminishment. Only one attendee had an anecdote to relate whereby she saw one young child taunting another by shouting "You're poor!"

Nonetheless, the teachers appeared to believe that the average son or daughter of a displaced plantation worker needs encouragement to see himself or herself as someone with a chance to realize success.

Financial Problems. Obviously, the money stress on the displaced families was a theme that ran throughout the sessions, except at Pahala where it was discussed less deeply because the teachers there had seen fewer economic implications from the closings. At Hilo and Honoka'a though, the subject of the financial difficulties of the families was returned to many times and was viewed as the underlying cause of most other negative effects.

As it affected the young people in a way teachers could observe at school:

"One of the things I do is help students with their college applications and their scholarships and I get to read tons of their personal statements. There's some real tear jerkers among the personal statements that I've seen over the past couple of years. The students are upset because of their family life, or that they can't do what they want to do, their choices are not real choices. Hilo High graduates between 325 and 345 students a year and we used to average over 50 students going to the mainland a year. In the past two years it's dropped to about 36, 37 and a lot of it has been due to the closing of sugar. It's not just the kids who live in Hamakua, it's the kids who live in other places whose parents' income has changed because of the general economy. That's what I see. A lot of it is money, but money leads to emotional distress within the family."

"I do the yearbook and I've been getting a lot of calls from parents about not scheduling the picture taking too close to when they have to pay dues because only one person is working at this time. I try to get the kids into summer programs, especially during their junior year, but a lot of kids tell me they have to work."

"With it comes the stress. The stress of school and maybe not getting that prom outfit or the money for other things."

"I know that last year some of them didn't go on field trips because their health benefits had been cut and you have to have insurance money in two weeks prior, if you don't have your own insurance, to go on a field trip."

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"Just this year, something as simple as purchasing their cap and gown, which cost $21, we've had about 85 students who, by the deadline, had not gotten their cap and gown. I had to find sponsors for these kids. As one kid said 'I can't afford to walk.'"

Motivational Problems. When the moderator asked whether plantation families held a goal for their children to be educated beyond high school, participants in two of the sessions said that would be stereotyping, that there wasn't anything like a "typical" plantation view of post-secondary education. They added that some families, often when the parents were immigrants, were struggling to ensure a better future for their children through education, perhaps because they had already sacrificed a lot to come to this country. The teachers thought others appeared less interested in planning beyond the present, or less able to take the steps that would lead to college or vocational training for their offspring.

Some said that truancy even in high school had been on the rise since the closings and it was doubtful whether the absent youth would get as much as a high school diploma.

"We have a core group of students where in the past few years there's kind of a vicious cycle with the kids being forced to work and being encouraged to drop out. Some of the truancy now is they're home taking care of elders because other caregivers; mothers in the family, for example, have to work. There was always a strict code in those families that you were going to stay in school and get out of the plantation. The boys (I've coached) were always very respectful and well behaved. Now I see some of these boys forced to work and losing out on that push to get more education."

Teachers from the country schools, Ka'u and Honoka'a, were generally less sanguine about the proportion of students who would seek higher education than were the educators who taught at Hilo High. The rural youth have been exposed to little beyond a life on the plantation, the teachers said, and what they had always looked to as goals were the highest paid field laborer positions: covering seed and driving the cane truck.

"The students don't know anything other than Ka'u. They don't even go to Kona, or go to Hilo. They don't want to. Of the students I've had, the majority of them are still here, living off their parents or supporting themselves some way, I don't know how."

"When you ask them, even in elementary, 'What are you going to do when you get out of school?' 'Go hunt. Go fish.' There's no jobs."

"Cover seed, that's what they wanted. And the ones that were more capable wanted to drive a truck. That's all I heard."

"See a lot of the young people growing up here, even if they would have liked another job, they wouldn't have the drive to go to college or get a job that would be better than the plantation. They always had the plantation. Now they don't have the plantation they are faced with going either to the hotels, which they may not want to, or else move away. Ideally, as a teacher, I would like to encourage them to go to college, but I find that in trying to encourage them I

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cannot get them to say 'Yeah, I'll go.' I think they're frustrated in that they really don't want to go to college but they also can't have the plantation job they would have had before."

"Most are getting the lowest kind of job in the hotel. Bus boy, steward, dishwasher, housekeeping, those kind of jobs."

"I've run into a few of the graduating seniors from the past few years and what they're doing. Most of them seem to be hanging on to some classes (at HCC) but not being able to stay full time. The kids where a college education is instilled in them, I think the financing is tough. Some of them we're losing because they don't know how to get the resources, or the resources just aren't enough to float them."

"We sent a couple to the mainland (to college) last year; usually we send two or three out of 60 or 70. It's minimal. We have maybe 6 at UH."

"I think that in a lot of ways, we have parents here who know college is the right thing to pursue. They're having a hard time convincing the kids. I think that will change too, though, because the kids will see less and less opportunity here."

"At a small school, we haven't got the bodies. We have one counselor in a K through 12 school and he does everything. I just hope that other teachers are like myself. If I know a kid is serious and is trying to find financial aid, come hell or high water, I'll send to China to help this kid. But the kids I have this year, all they're looking for is to graduate. They have no job yet, some of them are fathers, some of them are mothers, and all they're concentrating on is that high school diploma. Just graduating with that piece of paper in hand is a high goal for them."

Systems at Hilo High are better structured to support higher education, several attendees there said. They referred to a variety of programs set up by the school and carried out by counselors and teachers to educate the youth and their families about researching which colleges are most suitable, what financial aid is available, and how to prepare resumes and personal statements to accompany their applications.

"At Hilo High, let me tell you. . . you need financial aid, you need any kind of help, you can get it. The country schools, I don't know what it is. . . complacency, or the counselors just not getting out enough or what. . . but even when I was at Ka'u, they could get anything they want, even if they are immigrants, even if they are plantation families or anything. They can come in with their kids and learn how to fill out forms."

"At Hilo High all of the 9th and 10th grade kids are into doing their own personal portfolios. They've got resumes, they've got personal statements, they've done job applications. They are doing all this at younger ages than ever before, the teachers have done workplace readiness classes, in fact they are going to pilot test them this summer and do them next year. The businesses have been really good about letting our kids do career shadowing and internships. A lot of good things have come about because the State has seen that our economy is so poor."

"I had a workshop (on financial aid) on Dec 5 and I had 200 parents! Our kids are lucky. We track our students."

The Schools' Response to the Closings

Based on the teachers' remarks during the sessions, there was little in the way of a long-term strategic or programmatic response to the closings, and many of the attendees suggested there was not too much the schools could do effectively in any case. They pointed out that students, particularly when they reach high school age, tend to be close-mouthed about family troubles and are ashamed to admit it when their parents are unemployed and short of money, or when there are stress-related stormy episodes within the home.

In addition, at Hilo High School the proportion of youth who are from the plantations is relatively small, and identifying them as individuals was something the educators were often unable to do on a day-to-day basis (although they said that school administrators had made a list of affected children, to offer counseling help, if needed).

At Pahala and Honoka`a, it was of course easier to know who had been displaced by the closures because the events involved such a large proportion of the community. Even so, teachers seemed uncertain about what an adequate response would have been, to what degree the children would have been helped by the schools' interventions, and even whether their intercession would have been welcomed.

From Hilo:

"Well, you have to remember that Lapahoehoe is a very small school so everybody at that school -- 90 percent or more -- had parents who worked for the plantations. That was a major part of their lives. Our school is different. There's not anywhere near that kind of number and so, therefore, there were support groups and through Hawaii County Economic Opportunity, we got counselors. We wrote down the names of all the students whose parents had been laid off and those students got counseling and were part of a support group. Each counselor had 25 students and they did things to help the students get through that. I think, though, that a lot of what happened, happened within the family so the students themselves weren't always willing to. . . they didn't want a handout."

From Honoka`a:

"Oh they (the school) did a lot. We had meetings, faculty meetings with mental health type people coming and saying "This is what you should expect." And then a group of teachers and students were trained to deal with discussion groups. They did it very well!"

"I think we should do an on-going thing. This was three years ago."

"The special ed kids, I think about a third of them came from plantation families and they did not go to those discussion groups. They're special students, they lack the confidence, so we just

talked in the classroom. It's done though. We need to deal with where we are now. The students need to know their job potential, they need to know when they graduate in June they can go get a job at the hotel. Have we prepared them for that? We try to get them into occupational skills at job sites. Some are successful. But some who come from the plantation families who are emotionally impaired. . . they've got anger problems, behavior problems. They can't hold a job down. They leave the job. They lack the work ethic."

"People need jobs. You can talk to them all day. You can counsel them all day. But what they need and want are jobs."

From Ka'u/Pahala:

"I remember when they were going through that decision-making time, about whether to close, there was a lot of discussion among the kids in Ka'u. I remember we had an emergency meeting for teachers, the day it closed, saying that we would give support, get a system in place to counsel the kids. As a teacher, I don't know if that happened. I wasn't in that circle of counseling. At the high school level the kids have more. . . . shame?. . . they wouldn't want to admit how they feel. I think a lot of kids held back, and I sense there was a lot of anger."

"Social workers came out but the kids are really hesitant to talk about it, you know."

"They are really closed-mouthed. And once they say they're not having any trouble with it, they're doing okay, then that's it. They come back the next year and it's the same thing: 'We're all fine.' "

"The kids, they don't want to admit if it's affecting them, like she said. They don't even want to say if their parents were laid off or if their parents are without jobs. 'No, no. Everything's fine. They're working.'"

"In the elementary school they said we were going to get counselors, and then they never came."

"At our school the counselors were set up to come. Everything got scheduled on campus for those counselors. Then the counselors called and said 'Gee we can't make it on Tuesday, maybe we could come on Thursday.' At that point the school stepped in and told them the schedule had already been set up and "Now you aren't coming. The reality is our kids are fine and you're going to come down here and scare them. If we see any problems, we'll call.' I think that was the right thing to do. I was on the Hamakua coast when the processing company closed down. We had people come in and talk to our teachers before they talked to the kids and they frightened the teachers! Half the staff was shakin' in their boots with the horror of what their classrooms were going to turn into, because of the picture these people were painting. You're going to have this trouble, that trouble, this doom and gloom picture for us and I can imagine what they painted for the kids: 'Get ready for Spam at Christmas.' 'There'll be no more presents. No more turkey.' These people were selling fear."

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Teachers' Recommendations

Near the close of each focus group session the participants were asked for their insights about what the schools should have done differently to aid the students and their parents, and what the present and future steps should be. There was a virtual consensus that helping the youth become motivated toward education beyond high school, whether a four-year college or a trade school, was and is the most valuable assistance public education can provide.

In terms of past programs, there again was a split between those who felt not enough had been done over the long term and those who believed the schools had offered as much as they could, often with limited success for the reasons cited in previous paragraphs. The former segment held a variety of opinions about what might have been accomplished through counseling that lasted longer than just during the immediate crisis of the closure. Also, some thought there should have been more stress on teaching diversified agricultural methods, thus building on the knowledge and strengths that already exist within the displaced families.

At Honoka`a, a number of the teachers felt that families could have benefited (and would still) from educational caseworkers who personally travel from home to home, helping parents attain the knowledge that's familiar to middle-class urban residents: the steps necessary to qualify for higher education; how to select between colleges; how to fill out a college application; and how to learn about and apply for financial aid. They pointed out that a school-sponsored forum on these matters is not enough since many parents are too insecure about their English skills or social skills to take part in a public meeting.

"It's hard to put the displaced families in one basket and say whether they are coming to parent conferences or are they not. The range is so broad. We have those with education and those with none. What is lacking is people who can make one-on-one contact with these families. . . people who would say "Your daughter's a junior this year; have you thought about college?" I had a couple of fathers who would refuse to come into the cafeteria for conferences; I had to do conferences with them out in the parking lot because they were "people shy." I don't want to call them caseworkers, but you need someone who can be assigned 10 families and stay in touch with them and then the rapport is there."

"If you don't have those problem-solving skills. . . you see this (shows the pamphlets the schools distribute) and these things just seem unobtainable."

"An idea! What if one person was assigned to each camp, and that one person was in charge of taking a census of all the school age children, finding out what they were planning to do after high school, and giving that personal contact. I think that's a good idea."

"They used to hire outreach workers to coordinate displaced workers before but I don't know what's happened now. That helped."

"But all that is done. And we need to now worry about what's going to happen to the children."

Additional focus on standard English was also cited as something the schools need to address, whether the children will eventually go from high school into jobs or into a college.

"Another thing I see, I see kids coming in who speak such heavy pidgin that I thought they were speaking English as a second language. These plantation communities are so tight they have trouble communicating. To go to work in the hotels without the verbal communication skills is a real problem."

"If we're preparing them to work in the service industry they need standard English."

Of the problems requiring remedies, though, the one brought up and discussed most often was the students' seeming lack of motivation in bettering themselves through job training or education so they would not suffer the same fate as the chronically unemployed adults in their communities. The teachers offered no easy solutions to surmount that obstacle, but felt the schools had a place in teaching the work ethic, supplying role models and helping to instill values, and in exposing the children and youth to the world outside the plantation.

"What I remember about my first year at Ka'u high school when I taught there, I got them involved in a writing contest in which six of them actually won awards. They were told they could go to Honolulu and pick up these awards, although they had to get the money to get there. And we did. They got to go up there and stand on stage and receive checks and present their poems to this audience. I remember, we walked around on campus and these Ka'u kids were so blown away by it all. The one that gave me the worst time all year, lifted us his award in the middle of class and said 'You know, there's another world out there besides football and the plantation.' If we can just turn kids on to something else, expand their world, that's there's something out there other than what they have right here. This kid calls me up today; he has his master's now. He majored in English and he's going to be a teacher. He knew the plantation wasn't for him; he watched his parents struggle. That's what we need to do. We can't save the economy but we can help them open their world."

"We are on the right track with these School to Work programs. And we should go back to vocational schools."

"I'd like to see them bringing in career people. We have some excellent people in Ka'u, educated in Hilo, that have excellent jobs. Born and raised in this community, and doing very well. I'd like to have them come back to the community and say 'These are the possibilities.'"

"I agree that we have to open up their worlds. The sad part is the attitude I see from a lot of my students: 'I'm leaving this rock and I'm never coming back.' I try to get them to understand that you need to see both worlds. You have to know where you are first."

"I see a lot of potential. It's a matter of getting involved and getting commitments from people who can help. What bothers me is though is the self-disparagement stemming from lack of role models, feeling dispossessed, not feeling part of the system."

"I talked to one of the parents, a nurse, and said 'Would you come in and talk to the kids about what you do? You're an ideal role model.' They need to see community role models more."

"We have to realize that this is a profound change, a permanent change. Sugar's not going to take care of anyone anymore. When I tell my students they are very surprised to hear that the Hawaiians supported a much larger population on this island than are here now, without any Matson trucks. You've got to expand your thinking; you've got to find other assets; you have to think beyond where you are. Hilo has incredible potential. There's more land here, there's a workforce here, but I think that's a long way off because people hold on to their ideas a long time. And most of my students are welfare students and they may have no one in their family who has ever worked. The whole idea of getting up and going to work is a totally foreign concept to them. That population has grown, too, because there's a lot of teen parents. Welfare is too like the plantation: they'll always take care of me. That's the whole idea that has to change because it is not a great lifestyle. It's very hard."

"If you asked me what I'd give to my students, I'd give them hope. They have to know what's within themselves first, before they can do anything else. You talk about a world society, they have no idea what you're talking about. You talk about how you sustain yourself in a community, even as small as Hilo, they have no idea what you're talking about. What I look toward as help for them are programs so they can at least visualize their own potential, their own selves, knowing they're good inside even though they do all this other stuff that's not good. Maybe that's all they've been taught. But we start at the beginning."

Parent and Youth Open-Ended Interview Method

Participants

Participants were 20 of the families with children who participated in Study B. Potential subjects were randomly sent a recruitment letter inviting them to participate in the qualitative study along with a recruitment brochure explaining the project and its benefits. A follow-up telephone call was made several days later to explain the project, answer question, encourage participation, and schedule family interviews. All together, 20 women, 15 men, and 20 youth completed the interview; 5 men refused to participate in the interview or were not available on the day of the interview. Families were paid $50 for each family member interviewed.

Procedures

Family members participated in qualitative interviews of approximately one hour in duration. Parents, when two were available, were interviewed together. The youth was interviewed separately. Interviews were audiotaped. Interviewers followed an outline of open-ended questions and follow-up probes (see Attachment 2). The general content of these question addressed:

- perceived changes in the neighborhood since the plantation closures;
- school support and educational activities

- goals for youth's education and job paths, and,
- evaluation of support services that were available and ideas for desired services

In all, 37 audiotaped interviews were successfully transcribed. Three youth interviews were unintelligible due to very poor audio quality (i.e., too much wind disturbance, static) and could not be transcribed.

All interview transcripts (20 parent interviews and 17 youth interviews) were initially read by the research coordinator to document emerging themes for a content analysis of the qualitative data. A smaller sample of transcripts were then reviewed by the research director to verify the emerging themes. Where there was disagreement regarding the presence or absence of themes, the research staff further reviewed transcripts until agreement was reached. The following general categories of themes emerged from family discussions: 1) issues regarding future goals; 2) school-related issues; 3) community-related issues; 4) family-related issued; 6) issued regarding youth reactions to the closure; 7) miscellaneous, unrelated issues; and, 8) future visions of and for the youth. Sub-categories were then defined and a coding system was developed.

The 37 transcripts were then read and coded by the research coordinator. The research director read a sample of 13 transcripts to verify the accuracy of coding. Again, where there was disagreement regarding the coding of a particular unit(s) of discussion, the research staff met to discuss the coding in question and further reviewed the transcript until agreement was reached. Once hard copies of the transcripts were manually coded, NUD*IST software was used to organize the coded data. Family dialogs were entered and stored as on-line documents, coded as appropriated and stored at various code locations, and were easily retrieved for analysis.

Reports of the coded data, organized by the various code locations, showed that family discussions focused on the following four major areas: 1) effects of the closures on families; 2) impact of closures on community and plantation lifestyle; 3) school reactions to the closures and activities provided; and, 4) youths' future goals. The following content analysis was therefore organized accordingly.

Parent and Youth Open-Ended Interview Results

Employment Status of Families

Eighteen families had at least one parent employed at the time of the interviews. Fifteen of the men were employed, 4 were unemployed and looking for work, and one man was retired and not looking for work. Two of the 4 unemployed men do seasonal work on another island, but were interviewed during the off season. Eleven women were employed at the time of the interview. One woman described herself as unemployed and looking for work, 3 were homemakers, 1 is disabled and can not work, and the employment status of 4 women was not specified.

Effects of the Closures on Families

Re-employment Issues. Most dislocated workers addressed the difficulty of finding employment given the Big Island's competitive job market and a lagging economy. Even those who found employment in a timely manner did so only because they accepted short-term positions, part-time work, lower level positions with less pay or unrelated to their field, jobs without benefits, or they worked off the books. A few dislocated workers mentioned they were laid off at least once more before securing their current employment.

I haven't worked with these kind of wages anytime in my lifetime. I've always been a truck driver, or working in jobs that pay good money. Now I have to take a job 'cause there's no other job on the island. It's either that or be on welfare, and I'd rather take this job.

You got to drop your standards. Like I was willing to do anything on the job. Even today I'm willing to do anything. I'm skilled labor. I was a mechanic. I was willing to do anything, even was dishes.

Find a good paying of is the hardest thing. And then getting a job with benefits, medical, that's another thing that I guess a lot of people are having a hard time with. Because for a while we didn't have any medical.

As discussed earlier, dislocated workers and their families were accustomed to their worksite located in the same vicinity where they live. Once the main employer in these small, isolated rural communities shut its doors, dislocated workers were faced with the unfamiliar challenge of having to go beyond their communities for employment. Families typically described limited job opportunities in the tourist industry, requiring long commutes (from 45 minutes to 2.5 hours each way) and varying shift work. Even those who took employment in other industries discussed having to travel longer distances than they are use to. In the extreme cases, two dislocated workers accepted seasonal work with a plantation company on another island. Employment in distant locations, although necessary, was not viewed favorably as it pulled one or both parents away from the family and community. The impact of these new employment situations on family and communities ties will be discussed further in the following sections

Yeah. I finally got a job. I've got to drive clear down to Kona Airport to have it, and I'm only getting $5.75 an hour. Can't find a job around here.

Financial Hardship. A few adult respondents specified family economic strain as the reason why dislocated workers accepted these less than desirable employment situations with less pay, long commutes, little or no benefits, etc.

I told him, "You're skilled, you don't go do laundry. And then I thought about it...even if you work at McDonald's you get money in your pocket. You're working. And no matter what you try, you're working. You have to lower your standards. You gotta eat.

It's like I've been working longer hours, seeing my family less of the time and it's because I want to give them more than I could give them.

Not surprisingly, nearly half of the families were still in the process of recovering financially despite the re-employment of the displaced worker. The accounts described correspond with results from the related Family Adaptation project. The average time interval between the lay-off and interview dates for that project was 15 months; at that point 70% of families reported that family income had dropped considerably in the past year and over 50% reported a notable decline in the family's standard of living.

I get so much pressure, you know, thinking about my bills and how I gonna pay this, how I gonna pay that, because I don't make that much.

Well we don't have the money now. We had to use whatever resources we had just to survive...now we have to start, it's just like we're starting all over again.

We're just trying to get back on, everybody's just trying to get back on their feet now. Getting their money together, getting their home together.

Parents described a variety of financial difficulties following the lay-offs. These ranged from not being able to celebrate holidays and special events like Christmas or graduations, to having difficulty paying bills and developing a poor credit rating. A few parents discussed being so financially strapped that they pursued public assistance (e.g., food stamps, state-sponsored health insurance), however, some did not qualify due to assets they were unwilling to liquidate. At the extreme, 3 families reported depleting most or all of their savings during their worst financial period

We couldn't even have like a Thanksgiving dinner with the whole course. It was hard. We had Christmas and Christmas came and went.

I remember our electricity got shut off, and [my son] said, "God, that's never happened before mom." And I said, "I'm sorry, it's going to probably happen a lot more."

You know we had a couple thousand [in savings], but all that - phew..it's easy to take out, but time to put back, no way. When you get your pay, then you think, "Oh, I got to pay this" and there goes the money already.

Most of the adult respondents reported engaging in a number of money management strategies such as developing and following a budget, reducing nonessential expenses (e.g., recreational activities), staggering payment of bills, or gardening, hunting and fishing for food.

We're facing the hard times, so we need to adjust many things...no spending.

They use to go out for pizza every Friday, but we, I can not do it any more. We have to eat in the house. Whatever food we have, that's what we going to eat.

Before the plantation closed down we sat down and we talked to the kids and we explained to them what was going to happen, the plantation's going to close, we're going to have to sacrifice a lot of things, we're not going to be having as much money as dad was making.

We raise our own animals, you know, we don't really care to go to the store and shop...we just raise our own animals the old way. And it helped us a lot.

Nearly half of the parents reported having explained the family's financial situation to the children, letting them know the family would be living off a budget and spending less. Youth, however, did not reflect on such discussions to an equal extent. Although most youth mentioned their parents talked with them about the closure and the financial consequences at least initially, youth did not offer much detail or spend a significant amount of time discussing family financial hardships. Youth respondents commonly summarized their family's situation by saying things were "tight," that they had to cut down on expenses, and that their family could not afford the "extras." The lack of extensive discussion regarding family finances corresponds well with the Study B finding that youths' mental health was not directly affected by family financial status.

A small number of youth, however, did discuss being concerned or worried that their family would not have enough money to pay bills or pay for necessities. One youth took on a job specifically to contribute to the family's income. Three other older youth were concerned about their parents' ability to pay for college and discussed working to save money for college or having to take time off from college to earn money so they may return to school.

I thought that we weren't going to have food...I was younger then...And I really thought that we weren't going to survive.

That's why I wanted to find a job...I wanted to help them out. Then I found a job at my uncle's restaurant and that helped out a lot.

I know that I can't depend on my mom so much cause she's still supporting my three other younger siblings so that is why I wanted to earn my own money and then save up and then go back to school.

Other Family Problems. Adult respondents commonly reported experiencing stress or feeling depressed about their financial situation and inability to provide for the family. One of the most striking findings in Study B was the high level of psychological distress reported among family members. Only a few adults, however, elaborated on family-level effects such as increased arguments in the home and marital discordance.

He's just getting so he's -- he says he doesn't feel like he's a man...And you get that way, 'cause you have to take care of your family.

We didn't make it a really big issue. That's why maybe I got real sick. Emotional, you know...I didn't want to make pressure on [my husband] so I never wished to tell [him] how I felt. He had pressure enough losing his job and having to try to struggle at things to find a new job.

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We'd end up fighting. Because he would like go into depression.

There is some nooks and crannies about our marriage that we have to straighten out. We might need counseling for it.

You get so angry...I come home, like I'm all cranky to her.

Some parents reported their children being aware of parental stress, experiencing stress themselves or being concerned and worried about the family financial stability. A handful of parents discussed how these concerns manifested themselves in poor grades or other school-related problems. Again, youth spent less time addressing levels of family stress and family problems. They briefly described the stress experienced by their parents and the impact it had on the family in terms of increased tension and arguments, and less parent-child communication. Several youth offered additional discussion about their fears that the family would not survive the financial crisis or that they would end up homeless. One described internalizing feelings in order to spare other family members.

We were stressing out. Never realized that the kids were stressing out the same as us...We just found out the kids were stressing through all this too. But they didn't know how to talk to us about it because we'd just get mad.

She was scared. Because there were times that I would take her to school and she would cry from here to there. And she don't want to go out of the car.

[I thought] that we were just going to fall apart because that's when my dad started getting sick...And I was worried and stuff, and that's when I used to be doing bad at school.

During that time it was really hard for me to speak to my parents and to open myself up to them.

[Getting involved in programs] kinda gave me something to do. Not stay home and argue with everybody, cause everybody's frustrated. I think if we would have stayed, we would have been like into fights and I would've probably ran away or something.

Long commutes to new jobs also placed a new burden on families and negatively impacted family structure. A number of parents reported being stressed by new work conditions and long commutes. Children are now supervised less as at least one parent is absent from the community for extended periods of time. Family members also reflected on losing touch with one another as they are spending less time enjoying each other and communicating less with each other.

We're trying our best to have a good relationship with my children although I have to leave earlier. I don't see them to wake up. I have to be at my work at a certain time, so I have to leave early and they are still sleeping.

He commuted every day and this was like shifts...not just day shifts, second and third for five months and it was kind of nerve racking because you got to face that traffic every day...stress. It was really hard because we don't see much of each other.

My dad found different jobs and my mom was skipping one job to another...I didn't have enough attention from them. They had a different schedule...and whenever I want to talk, they wouldn't be there. And whenever they wanna talk, I don't want to talk, I didn't want to say anything to them.

I had to go away for a while to work at Maui...and, you know, being away from the family is very, very hard. And [my son], in fact he didn't start to get under control until I came back and we started talking and stuff like that.

Family Supports. Over half of the parents proudly reflected on the instrumental and emotional support they received from their children. They typically described a range of household responsibilities children assumed in an effort to relieve parents. Parents also described their kids being understanding of the family's financial situations and not demanding the "extras" they were accustomed to during better times. A handful of parents reported how their children alleviated the family's situation by actually taking on employment to help pay bills.

I want to cry now but he was like, "Mommy, you can take the money from my savings." And I'm like, "You know, we never need the money." It was so, just touching.

She's a big help to me...she helps me with the children and everything we need help at home...she's right there to help.

All of a sudden here I'm saying, "No wait until unemployment check, we'll see if we can stretch it." So, you know, I use to feel the hurt, because [my son] would be so understanding.

Accounts of more general forms of emotional support were also offered by adult and youth members of a number of families. Families typically described supportive and loving environments where members give and receive emotional support and security. A few families even reported having grown closer and stronger as a result of coming together to deal with the crisis. Again, these accounts were consistent with the qualitative component Family Adaptation study which identified the family as the most important source of inner strength.

I love that boy. I love all my daughters. I love their mother. Just being around her, I feel, you know, I forget about my worries. I forget about my bills and stuff like that.

We became closer. My wife, my two daughters, became closer.

[My husband] and I are, we're in the same mode. And it's really good because we're easy. We can communicate easily. We've become the best of friends.

I never think that we were going to be poor or anything. I always kept like a positive mind...I know my mom and dad can handle whatever. I could talk to them about anything.

A small number of families also addressed the importance of seeking and accepting support and assistance from external sources to better cope with the crisis. These families gave examples of extended family members who provided financial assistance, teachers who provided assistance with youth's school-related problems, and community agency staff who provided counseling and informational resources. Seeking support from such outside resources was not unexpected. Although plantation families came from diverse cultural backgrounds, over time they developed a common culture with shared values, one of which places great emphasis on the importance family, including extended family and close friends. Families in the communities studied were further identified as heavy users of formal community services in the Family Adaptation study.

We have done a lot better than most people have done. There are people they got divorced, wives got beat up or kids, they can't even go home. So I would say we count our blessing...we had a lot of help from his mother. They bought this house for us. And our washer just broke down and they can help and they do help. Without his parents [we would] be in some deep kaka. And so it's not like we never had any help and that we did it all ourselves. No way.

They [community agency] were in the vicinity during the time of the closure. They were getting us prepared for the closure, what to expect...and so that was good. They gave us ideas like, "Well, you can get counseling." They [also] gave us like one little booklet...that gives us ideas as far as unemployment, welfare, what kind of assistance you can get, who you can call. And I thought that was good.

Impact of Closures on Community and Plantation Lifestyle

Economic Changes. The lack of employment opportunities in the community was further addressed within the context of community changes. A number of families discussed their observations of others in the community experiencing economic hardship due to long periods of unemployment or unstable employment. Accounts given describe other families also having difficulty paying bills, and in extreme cases, losing their homes or having to move out of the community in pursuit of employment. The impact of individual financial difficulties on the small community economies was addressed. As local businesses and community events are particularly meaningful in these small, tightly knit communities, families were concerned about the toll the closures have taken on small businesses and community activities and events such as school proms and excursions. Some adults further commented on the impact the failing economy of these individual communities is having on the larger island economy. With good reason, people are also concerned the ripple effects of the closures on the larger economy will lead to lay-offs in other industries throughout the island.

All the [families] that depended on Hamakua Sugar...all the businesses in Honokaa that really depended on Hamakua Sugar...They had bills that needed to be paid up. They had cars that had *to be repossessed because they couldn't make the payments, they had houses and they have to move out and sell because they couldn't make the mortgage. It was hard.*

So many people relied on the plantation, you know, people whose husband's still are not working...everybody's struggling. And with more places closing down as time has gone on, various companies going out. Little things like, oh my, Robert's Bakery. These things that were always there, Derek's Coffee House...it's a difficult time.

Although not asked directly, a small number of families offered discussion on community-based economic development activities that are already in place or ideas being considered. A few families spoke of agricultural projects where displaced workers were sold plots of land or farming co-ops that have developed for people to grow coffee or vegetation for personal use or for retail. A Ka'u family discussed the difficulty residents of that community are having considering various proposals for large-scale industry to replace the plantation company. Until recently, Ka'u was being considered as the site for a new state prison, however, the proposal was met with great opposition. Residents of these communities desire a replacement industry to preserve the communities' vitality, however, the "new" industry should be compatible with the rural lifestyle and physical environment, and offer control and choice at the grassroots level.

Co-ops were formed for people who wanted to farm. And then the university gave out classes. For aqaculture and staff. They sent people out here.

There's no job facility so unless they do something there'll be no jobs in Ka'u. They're talking about a prison but a lot of people don't want the prison to be built, for the safety of the families. Most of the people I know really don't want the prison built, not so near the homes, maybe up in the mountains, but not down where they can escape to anyone's house...so now there's nothing for [the community].

**Loss of `Ohana.** The closures, and subsequent lack of employment opportunities, were also viewed as threatening a strong sense of community, based on the concept of community as *`ohana* or family. *'Ohana*, the Hawaiian word for family or clan, includes the nuclear family members, extended family members, and non-related people. The strength derived from *'ohana* is described by Mary Puikui, a noted Hawaiian authority as:

> *It is a sense of unity, shared involvement and share responsibility. It is mutual interdependence and mutual help. It is emotional support, given and received. It is solidarity and cohesiveness. It is love - often; it is loyalty - always. It is all this, encompassed by joined links of blood relationship (page 171).*

Over the years plantation families from diverse cultural backgrounds developed a way of life in their communities that provided for mutual obligations and respect, and caring for one another. This type of positive community climate and social support was found to enhance family resiliency in the Family Adaptation study. Not surprisingly, nearly half of the families interviewed as part of this project identified the cohesiveness of their community as a strength they highly value.

It's a very loving place. People would watch over one another's kids. It's were you can let your kids go out and play on the road, and no one would harm them.

Most of the neighbors are like family. You know, go to their house, kick back, eat - they feed you. It's like a big family.

When Hamakua [Sugar Company] fell down we had a lot of friends that really helped us out too. They would see us with the kids in the store and they would pass them $5.00 and say, "Go get yourself something." They tell you they would rather give them money than having them stealing in the store and getting caught. I'm like, "Wow, right on."

If another community was to lose a major corporation or something, they need to support these people. And you need to support each other. Gotta, if not, well then, no sense.

But now employment outside the community, and the required commutes, are drawing neighbors away from the community and disturbing the harmony that once existed. The effects the closures are having on individual families are mirrored in the larger community. Most families discussed a way of life that is changing as neighbors are drifting apart, spending less time socializing together, and focusing on themselves rather than on each other. A few families elaborated on increased criminal activity as a sign of the social changes occurring in plantation communities.

Once they [the sugar companies] shut down, everybody was to each his own...you [use to] come home from work, you go talking stories and you get along with each other. The moment the shut down, you don't see nobody, nobody, nobody talking with nobody.

Back in the plantation days, everybody help each other. Nowadays, everybody's to each his own. You know, once the company broke, everybody on their own now.

The sad thing about it is when the plantation closed, the community wasn't, they aren't the way they use to be. The people are more, they are thinking of looking out for themselves in a sense that is, you know, in a wrong way...I think because everybody's gone different was to do their jobs and stuff like that. And the frustration is the women are home and they're complaining he's traveling too far...A lifestyle is gone, you know. Sad.

The only increase I see is that, well, they burglarize in broad daylight...and it's not high school kids, it's the kind of kids that's all grown...either has to do with the closure or just that this young adults wants to make trouble. When they said they're gonna close the plantation years ago, they're all "Oh, no, people can not cope and going to get crimes going around and all this and that...maybe crime will increase."

Risky Youth Behavior. The cohesiveness of plantation communities also provided for surrogate parents, extended family and friends who watched over and cared for the neighborhood children. This safety net has also been negatively impacted by the flight of adults following jobs

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far from the community. Over half of the families spoke of increased risky youth behaviors such as drug and alcohol use, gang activity and fighting, and sexual activity. Most attributed the risky behavior to the lack of parental and other adult supervision since the closure and the re-employment of adults outside the community. A number of families also discussed a lack of alternative and recreational activities for kids as contributing to the problem youth behaviors. While it is not clear that the availability of such activities and programs dropped since the closures (e.g., because of reduced funding availability), it is apparent that such activities were not plentiful at a time when they were most needed in these communities.

Most of the children's parents were in the plantation and then after that they got laid off and they got a hard time to find jobs. And most of the parents are at the hotels, and the hotels take up a lot of the parents' time. And [the kids] think they can do whatever they want. And they do, you know, the children around here do.

There's a lot of drugs, alcohol, teenagers turning to sex, teen pregnancies, mostly there's a lot of drug use...probably because like there is no activities like after school, we hardly have any recreational activities...there's nothing to do so like when you go around town there's people hanging out and drinking and rug dealing's a big problem.

The kids...they smoking weed in school. And I'm like, "What do the parents do?" They go to school, they drink, they come to school with a thermos with alcohol in them...Dealing is another thing that is happening [in this community]. And I went into shock because it like [this community] is really close knit, kinda like sheltered. I'm sure it was peer pressure, [the] closure, all these things.

The main thing I'm trying to like say, we need - we need stuff to do during the day.

Support Services. Some families did mention a limited number of one-time or short term recreational activities for kids, mainly sponsored by churches or church-related organizations. Surprisingly, when asked to describe what community groups could have done to better support youth, only a small number of families expressed a desire for recreational programs for children despite complaints that such activities and programs were lacking.

Adult respondents addressed a number of support services available for families. These included outreach and counseling services, connections to resources, and emergency services such as food banks. Over half of the parents also discussed job retraining and search services. These included specific skills building courses (e.g., grounds keeping), interview skills building and resume writing classes, and job placement activities. These services were mainly offered through the state's employment services program, however, a few families mentioned similar services also offered by community agencies and the union. Although families did not always make it clear that they were users of these services, they did express a familiarity with the services available in their communities. However, the Family Adaptation study (Center on the Family, 1998) did show that services aggressively promoted during and following the closures were frequently used by dislocated workers and their families, and that families derived demonstrable benefits in terms of psychological well-being.

Yeah. They had support things going, programs, for kids and families or whoever needed help.

Yeah the food bank fed my family. But they gave, you know what I got at the food bank? This is like something you don't think about. I got seeds to grow vegetables. I got detergent. I got soap.

The employment agency had the classes that show you how to interview for a job. They were a really big help, they really teach you how to get a job.

School Reactions and Activities

Closure Activities. Given the cohesiveness found in plantation communities it would follow that formal institutions (e.g., churches, businesses and schools) would be an important part of this support system, particularly during a crisis such as regional unemployment. While schools took some action to support youth through the crisis of family job loss, it seems the activities provided left much to be desired. Only a small number of families discussed formal and informal counseling activities offered by the school during the closures. These included one-time or short-term assemblies or discussion groups where kids were encouraged to air their feelings and fears, some lead by school staff and others by professional counselors. Families also described teachers and counselors making themselves available to youth to provide counseling and support on an as-needed basis, however, youth had to actively seek the support as there was very little outreach to youth. Not surprisingly, schools in urban communities (e.g., Hilo town) with a smaller number of youth affected by the closures seem to have provided less in the way of support activities.

There was like one open session, like if you wanted to go talk to your principal. The teachers and staff were so funny "Okay, if you guys want to talk about [it], just come see me or else our counselor." But most of the students coped with their stress and stuff.

I think that what [my daughter's] school, what they did is they had sessions for kids to talk about what, you know, how they feel and to get if off of their chest. I think it was good...I don't know how often, I don't know if it was weekly...But I think that was good for them to get together. And I think that was on their own time, after school.

The counselors are always there. But, it's really up to you to go in and see them. They don't really, they don't really come out and ask. It's always your choice, like if you need it, then you go and do it...It's all right, but maybe they should give a little more concern and check on people once in a while.

[The school] thought that none of the kids would be really affected by the [closures] at first and then they started seeing through different people that it was...it was like, just kick back and wait.

I'm sure if they felt that my child was in a depression or something, I think they would have helped. But I think, for our part, because Waiakea District, most of the people that live in the

Waiakea District...didn't work for the plantation. It was the people that worked...back towards the Pepeekeo and Hamakua area, so naturally, I think they had a support system going at [those schools] for the students that were affected by the plantation closure, but not at [our] schools and I don't think that was right.

The accounts provided by families correspond with what teachers communicated during the focus group interviews. Teachers confirm that there was little in the way of long-term strategic response to the closures and further suggest there was little school personnel could do anyway. Nevertheless, half of the teachers interviewed felt more *should have* been done to help students cope with parental unemployment.

Similarly, over half of the families discussed a desire for these types of school-based support activities and recommended such activities be in place in schools where youth are dealing with parental job loss. Youth respondents commonly said they would have liked the school to offer more discussion sessions where kids could have talked about their fears and feelings, been informed about what to expect from their parents, received strategies and tips for coping with stress, and received encouraging words about their future. The need for active outreach to youth, rather than placing the burden of seeking services on youth, was also stressed. Parents similarly stressed that services offered by schools in communities facing job loss should inform youth about what parents are going through and teach coping skills. A small number of adult respondents further expressed a desire for school-based supervised alternative and recreational activities, similar to what they want to see in the community.

I think they could have like a program to see that we wasn't by ourselves...You think you're the only one...And so it would have been nice if they had like the whole school come together and we would all talk about it.

Do more talking like with the students and everything and more activities like um, they don't have any activities for the children, yeah. That's why the children are like this, some of them, they don't care nothing.

Well, I would like to see the children to be supervised. And to help them focus, you know, where to go if they want it for the future. And I don't want to see the children, to roam around, you know, without supervision. If this school can create a program, that help the children to be busy in a positive way.

School Problems. When discussing school-related issues, families identified a number of problems. Although none of the problem areas were discussed with a great deal of consistency, one of the issues raised may be related to the shortcomings in the schools' response to the closures. Over one-third of the families discussed problems related to school staff. Complaints included teachers and staff being "outsiders" and therefore not identifying with the plight of plantation families. Teachers are also perceived as not being invested in youths' academic progress. Other complaints included a high staff turn over and teacher shortages. Such shortages and lack of understanding, if true, may explain why schools were unable or unwilling to provide intensive or long-term closure activities.

The teachers are not really too, well I don't know if I should say it, but they not really too experienced, for our, like, for this community. 'Cause this community is like more of a local, you know? And then the teachers are like from the mainland. And they come here, and then, they don't know what they're doing...They come here and then they don't know our lifestyle. So they don't know what they are suppose to say to us.

The principals and teachers don't know how to deal with a lot of the people who go to that school...and their parents all worked at the sugar mill. They don't know how to handle it, us. You know, we're kind of down now...a lot of the families are like in money troubles and stuff...and you know, it's real hard [for teachers] to express their feelings to them cause their from Hilo.

There is too much people moving here. There is not enough resources. There is not enough teachers. It's the same old story.

A small number of families also discussed fights and arguments at the schools among students, some of these also including staff. It is not clear from the family discussions, however, is whether this was a pre-existing problem, began after the closures, or was made worse by the closures. A few families also addressed poor educational standards but, again, it is not clear what impact, if any, the closures had on this problem.

How Schools Prepare Youth for the Future. Despite a limited number of complaints of poor educational standards, it does seem that schools are providing a number of educational and vocational activities aimed at preparing youth for college and the work world. Parents were less familiar with such activities, however youth discussed college preparatory activities and job readiness and vocational training activities.

Over half of the youth respondents described counseling services provided by a guidance counselor or other staff (e.g., teacher). Most described services that provided information on colleges, on academic requirements, and on grants and scholarships and other forms of financial aid. Most describe counselors or staff as helpful in this area, however, also suggest that there are varying degrees of initiative on the counselors' behalf and that students often have to be motivated to seek these services. Several families also described a structured college and career preparation program which include a strong focus on planning for the future and visits to the state's university campuses.

There's our counselor, he's really good back there. He's the one that helped me get grants and scholarships to attend the [university] while I did. He's really good at doing things as far as seeing that the students have somewhere to turn to after graduation...I went to him. He's like, he puts it in the bulletin, he gives the students the chance to like meet him half way to see if they even make the effort to make something of themselves. Then I went to see him and then he kept me posted like he kept calling me into his office and stuff.

She's in the Talent Search program...where they kind of gear the kids, I think it's from the eighth grade now, they work with them, and making sure that they take the right courses for what they want to be.

Well, the guidance resource center does a lot of stuff. Yeah, they help you with college, apply to colleges, apply for scholarships. And all the financial aids stuff that you need to go to college.

Nearly half of the families also discussed job readiness activities. These included career days or fairs, where professionals from various fields present to students on academic requirements and skills needed to be successful in a particular field. Also discussed were optional courses that provided resume writing and job seeking skills, along with on the job training experiences, excursions to worksite and job shadowing experiences, and extracurricular activities and clubs which provide experiences that can lend themselves to future employment (e.g., agriculture club, electronics club).

They have had career days. Somebody came to the school and talked to them. Like counseling kind of thing. Just some brief counseling on where they look at their goals.

Yeah, she was in her senior year, they were doing on the job training. They were going a couple of days, or one day a week to Hilo hospital...spending a couple, think about half a morning or half a day at the hospital. I think she was in pediatrics at the time. She was - it was good.

Yeah they have a program or a class and what they did was teach you how to do resumes and they would even try and help you find jobs. And you could also go, you fill out a test and it would show you what field you should go into...and you go on the computer and it show you a list of jobs.

We might go on an excursion to the Hilton and then, all the girl wear mumu's and the boy's wear pants and their nice Aloha shirts and then we work there for a day and seek how it's like.

With the sugar companies no longer providing "guaranteed" employment for young people, it is indeed encouraging that, at least according to these accounts, the schools are providing this main function. Despite reports that such college and job preparatory activities are taking place, over half of the parents expressed a desire for stronger academic programs that better prepare youth for college, more intensive college counseling services, and more job training or opportunities for career shadowing.

I would say [we need] college preparation. [This] school is small and I hate to say it, but the education is back there. The education is behind something like Hilo, Kamehameha schools. Because I have seen it with my two in Kamehameha schools and I have seen it with the two that's graduated from high school you know. The ones that go to Kamehameha will be better prepared for college life.

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I think that's what they have to let them know, that is, if they want to go in a special field, what kind of stuff they should take now, so they can prepare for college. And I think, I think [the school] kinda does some, but not enough.

I would like to see them get into more job training programs, within a school setting, and maybe placing them in office skills, or get into the art department if they're interested in drama and that kind of stuff.

Youth Future Goals

Youth Aspirations. Even before the closures youth from plantation communities seem to have had their sights set on more than working for the sugar companies. Nearly all the youth stated they never considered working for the sugar plantation. Youth discussed wanting a "better life" for themselves and being encouraged by family to have greater goals. Indeed, over half of the parents discussed wanting more for their children than plantation employment. A number of parents, however, did admit to considering plantation work for their children if it meant keeping them in the community. Others viewed plantation work as a first job or "start in life," or even a "fall back" if other employment failed.

I planned on doing something else as an adult, cause I didn't want to stay there cause there's nothing really other than the plantation...I [wanted] to make something better of myself.

Most of the children planned to do something else. They didn't really think about going into the plantation...At the time when the plantation was closing, a lot of the students, they just [wanted] to go to college.

I would rather she'd do something different. And I think most of the plantation families around here, their children went away to school because plantation life was not for, you know, it was the sense that it's not for the children of today. It was for the people of yesteryear.

No. When he was working for the plantation, I said "Honey, my son is not carrying a poisons pump. Not for anybody, I don't care what you say. He's not working for the plantation." If I got to put him on a plane myself, I'll put him on a plane.

Youths' educational goals were consistent with their desire to move beyond plantation jobs. Over half of the youth discussed having college plans. Older youth (17 - 19 year olds) had plans already in place at the time of the interviews, i.e., they were already enrolled in college or on leave from college. Younger teens and intermediate school-age youth discussed their college plans with less detail but, nevertheless, expressed a desire for a college education. A number of youth attributed their focus and commitment to educational goals to the closures and subsequent crisis they have experienced with their families and seen in their communities. In an effort to be better prepared for life, these youth say they have become more future oriented since the crisis.

Well, this fall I plan to attend the University in Prescott, Arizona. And I plan to major in electrical engineering there. I [would] like to work in electronics and that kind of stuff.

Well, college is pretty high...I really want to go to college for mechanics. They got certain college [programs] in mechanics and I really want to get into it:

My father didn't receive a college education and he had a hard time finding a job....So that made me become more serious about school and going to college.

About half of the youth discussed firm career or job goals. Older youth discussed career plans with a great degree of conviction and understanding of what is require to met those goals. For the most part, the professions identified require a college degree or additional training beyond high school. A handful of youth, mostly younger teens, discussed career or job goals that are still forming -- they expressed a vision of what they want to do in the future, however, discussions did not always reflect a clear understanding of what is required to meet the goals.

I was looking into getting my bachelors in Hawaiian language and the going into teaching at a Hawaiian immersion program. I'll probably have a job, I'm hoping at least, teaching at a Hawaiian immersion program.

I wanna go to the Coast Guard. If I can pass the test. The last time I missed it so I'm going to try for it again. And if I do pass, I'm gonna go.

Possible Obstacles to Meeting Goals. Despite what youth had to say about their goals, teacher focus group discussion reflect less confidence in youths' ability to achieve these educational and career goals. Teachers working in the more isolated, rural plantation communities in particular held the view that youth aspired to little more that the "highest paid field laborer position." This view is disturbing given goals expressed youth. The concern is that such an opinion could impede teachers' ability to foster student goals. However, given the numerous educational and vocational activities discussed by families, this may not necessarily be the case.

A few families discussed financial hardship impeding college plans. Three youth were either forced to return home during or after the first year of college, or were considering leaving school because of difficulty paying tuition. Parents of these youth expressed a desire for their children to return to school, but were unsure whether it would actually happen any time soon given the financial situation. Other accounts of how family economic stain has affected educational goals include parents' concern that they may not be able to afford college, and concern that their children can not focus on academics if they are working to save for college.

I was attending the University of Hawaii at Hilo but now I am planning to move to Honolulu...This [year] I went the first semester but then the second semester I was gonna try and find a job...I probably will [graduate] later, but I just want to work for know and earn money and then go back.

I actually did pretty good in school. Got a good grade point average. It was just more so the money wise and stuff that kind of just set everything back...I'm planning on just getting a job, saving up money until I can pay my way to go back to school and stuff.

She went to Honolulu to try it. She's not going to school right now. She's trying to look for a job. Now financially, you know, it's hard. She doesn't have money to go to school...she only went one semester. She was doing good in school. But money wise, financial, it's hard. So that's why she came back...it's discouraging.

Nevertheless, over half of the parents spoke of encouraging their children to aspire to a college education despite family economic strain. Youths' views of their future were not always consistent with the path their parents envision, however, parents commonly agreed that a college education was a way to attain better opportunities in life. Some parents spoke of doing what ever is necessary to provide financial assistance for a college education or assisting with what they can provide. Others spoke of plans to explore financial aid and scholarship options with their children to guarantee a college education.

The condition of the environment, the surroundings, economic condition is very uncertain, you know? You see, if we can afford, or she can afford to, to go and get that education that she needs for the, for her future. But she needs to know that education is very important. And keep on encouraging her to, to be, you know, more serious about her education. But, at the same time, with the hardship that we are facing right now around here, I don't know how we can find the way out.

I want my kids to have better education. He [my husband] knows that it's very hard, [he] doesn't have education. That's why I had to push my kids. You have to study, study, study...You have to go on. But we don't have money. [There's] lot's of scholarship, lot's of money there.

She's very athletic. We kind of encourage her towards her sport so that she can get a scholarship later and continue onto whatever career she wants...So [we] keep on telling her to try excel in sports, and then she'll get scholarships and help the burden.

Opportunities for Youth. The majority of youth and all the parents are aware that youth will have to leave the community, perhaps the island, to pursue their goals. Many parents would like their children to stay near their hometown, but know this is nearly impossible since there are so few employment opportunities in their communities and on the Big Island. Still, some parents remain hopeful that perhaps a new big industry may bring jobs and help the overall economy so the youth can stay nearby. Parents pointed out that the sugar companies at least offered options for youth who did not want to go to college and also offered part-time or summer employment for youth to save for college or other life plans. They lament that even these opportunities no longer exits for youth, making the flight of the next generation from the community even more inevitable.

> *I'm not sure if she's ever going back to Ka'u now that, just lack of everything there...A lot of [youth] have moved out. They have gone to different colleges out of state. Some are here attending the University here [in Hilo] or Oahu. A lot of kids have moved out.*

> *I have to be open minded. I mean, I would like him to stay. But it's utterly impossible because of the hardship if he stays here. I prefer him getting better educated.*

> *A lot of kids go off to school and they, they want to come back here but they can't because there's no job. There is nothing here for them to live on. And that's sad, especially if they want to come back.*

> *I think a lot of people had it in their mind if they didn't do well in school that they could go to the plantation. It was a job that they could get guanteed, no matter what.*

> *You always had a chance to come back and work for the sugar plantation if nothing else worked.*

Youth agreed that there are few opportunities available to them on the Big Island and certainly in their communities. Nevertheless, most youth said that they would like to live near their home town or live somewhere on the Big Island, perhaps Hilo or Kona where at least more jobs are concentrated. Some youth mentioned they may go away for college and return to the Big Island if and when the economy improves. Others are willing to move away to another island or mainland to follow educational and employment opportunities despite their dream of living near their hometown.

> *Probably I don't think [I'll stay] on this island, or maybe if I do probably someplace like Hilo or Kona, cause in Ka'u there's no job opportunities so I'm guaranteed I ain't living there cause there's no way to make a living there.*

> *When I go to college I was thinking about going to one of the colleges in the mainland because there are better opportunities [there].*

> *I would be glad to go somewhere else if there are opportunities...but if I can't stay here that would be something really, really hard for me to accept because I would love to stay here...around here in Hawaii, in this community. Because I've been here all my life.*

Discussion

The qualitative data from Study C provide rich insights into the nature of the stressors and widespread family and community changes that contribute to the elevated levels of psychological distress measured in Study B. Parents, youth and teachers all acknowledged the tensions that were felt, particularly by adults. Most parents reported minimal disruptive youth behavior. However, youth reported hiding their fears and concerns in order to minimize the burden on their parents. This pattern is also consistent with the finding from Study B that internalizing youth symptoms were more common than externalizing behaviors. Studies with Caucasian and African-American youth affected by economic strain (Conger & Elder, 1994; McLoyd et al., 1994) seem to find that externalizing problems are more common. These differences may represent cultural preferences in how stress is experienced and displayed.

Despite the difficulties, family members relied on each other as a source of love and support. Youth were effective in providing both emotional support and instrumental support--willingly assuming household tasks or working part time to contribute to the family income. A majority of parents discussed their financial difficulties with their children, and many youth appeared to assume a partnership role, providing significant assistance to the family's functioning.

Beyond the economic difficulties, the primary outcome of the closings seemed to be a disruption of both family and community ties. Re-employed workers now commuted to distant jobs, severely curtailing precious family time. Decreased time and ties with neighbors and kin was also of concern. There was widespread fear that youth were engaging in increased risk behavior such as gang activity, substance use and sex as a result of the dramatic drop in adult supervision. Note that in these communities, supervision of youth was seen as both a family and community responsibility--and decrements were seen in both arenas.

Although these communities shared and treasured their history of close-knit, reciprocal relationships and self-help organizations, it was noteworthy that the public schools did not play a key role in providing community-based support or grassroots advocacy. This may be a result of teachers being viewed with suspicion--they are "outsiders" who are seen as not understanding or appreciating the strengths of the local culture. Indeed, there may be some basis for this tension. The tenor of the teachers' focus group discussions was split between those who wished to perpetuate local culture and empower students, and those who saw students (and their parents) as lazy Pidgin-speakers who had no work ethic or aspirations for a middle class future. The latter view seemed to be a remnant of colonial attitudes from Hawaii's traditional plantation era.

Both families and teachers observed that the schools had no comprehensive strategy for providing either crisis counseling or long-term supports. In town schools, the plantation children were anonymous and most teachers had little idea whose families had been displaced. Some schools gave short-term counseling, either bringing in guest speakers, or relying on the efforts of staff volunteers. After this short flurry of assemblies, little seems to have changed. It may have been the case that the approaches used were not effective, since many teachers reported that older youth shied away from efforts at providing support. Perhaps a more collectively-oriented, self-help approach would have been a better fit with local values and modes of coping.

There was much agreement on what school *should* be doing. First, more intensive and lasting efforts to provide emotional support and address student's fears and needs during periods of crisis was wanted. Second, schools could provide much-desired and much-needed constructive, supervised afterschool activities. Third, schools should emphasize (or for those who were doing a good job already--continue to provide) *worthwhile* vocational education, college and career planning. Finally, there was a strong desire for raising educational standards and providing true college preparation.

About half of the youth had developed plans for post-secondary education and career paths. Despite the soundness of some of these plans, many youth faced significant obstacles. These obstacles included the disintegration of financial resources to pay for college and reluctance to consider going out-of-state, or even off-island in pursuit of educational experiences. Although our sample was very small, there appeared to be a high incidence of uncessesful attempts at starting college. This is consistent with data that show Hawaiian students have one of the lowest rates of college retention. While the causes of college drop-out were not addressed in the interviews, it is likely that local students had insufficient academic preparation and were unused to living apart from the family in addition to financial conerns.

An important theme was expressed in the data, although participants did not mention it directly. That was the issue of abrupt lifestyle change, with schisms along generational lines. Parents in these families had been raised with the expectation that plantation work and the plantation lifestyle "would always be there". Both parents and children had strong commitments to family, to community, to local identity and to the natural environment. However, both parents and children were unanimous in seeing no realistic opportunities for youth who remained in the rural communities. Education was seen as the key to survival, as well as to a better life, but this would require leaving the community and most likely, leaving the island and even the state. To abandon one's extended family unit is a dreaded thought for many local residents; it is an act akin to shedding one's core identity. It appears that decisions concerning migration, gaps between parents and children in educational attainment, and the loss of the distinctive plantation family and community lifestyle will emerge as major family and social tensions in the upcoming years.

IMPLICATIONS

1. The effects of parental job loss on school children are often deep and long-lasting. Paradoxically, they may also go unnoticed.

Each year, literally millions of children have a parent who looses his or her job. Negative consequences for youth are most often seen in mental health and school attendance problems. These effects may be long-lasting, persisting more than one year after the job loss event. However, the types of anxieties and lifestyle changes children experience may not be readily apparent to school personnel. Children may share information about the job loss and the internalizing behaviors exhibited are more readily overlooked than are aggressive, acting-out behaviors that disrupt classroom management and activities.

Since school personnel can provide important social support, as well as serving as a gateway should referrals be needed, teachers need to become more aware of the likelihood that students in their classes may be coping with parental job loss. Following trends in community employment and downsizing would be helpful. Advisory activities could be invaluable in providing opportunities for teacher to become aware of important transitions in children's lives.

2. Resilient children provide a natural model for prevention and intervention goals.

Children of displaced workers showed many natural strengths, as did their families and communities. Resilient children:

a) Are skilled at active, problem-focused coping and solicitation of emotional support;
b) Have parents who provide emotional nurturance, clear limits and discipline via induction, and
c) Have strong social support systems at home, at school, and in their neighborhoods.

Schools can work to enhance these characteristics in students by teaching students coping skills, by providing parenting education and by working to achieve a strong, safe, and supportive school community.

3. Schools must prepare students to deal with changing employment realities.

Students can no longer count on a future of stable adult employment. Perhaps the best gift that schools can provide our young people is the combination of a solid academic foundation, experience-based vocational preparation, a sense of self-efficacy, hope for the future, and life skills preparation that emphasizes adaptation to change.

4. Worker displacement is a family issue, and should be recognized and treated as such.

Public policies relating to job loss focus only on the displaced worker and are, therefore, incomplete. Because the family is an interdependent unit, job loss has repercussions for all family members, including children. In addition to focusing on the provision of unemployment benefits and job training, government programs, such as the federal Rapid Response Teams, can provide information about family responses and effective coping for all family members. Schools are a natural entree for accessing children and parents and should play a more active role in proving both information and support to children and families affected by job loss.

5. **Children and families should be actively involved in designing support activities that best match their values, needs and goals.**

Short-term, artificial crisis-oriented activities may have little impact on children's adjustment, particularly if the school is perceived as divorced from the fabric of community life. Even well-intended services will be rejected if they are presented in a way that is incompatible with children's cultural styles. Parents and children often have precise ideas about what would help them--organizations need to listen.

6. **Remember that at-risk youth are not found only in urban areas.**

The issues facing these rural Asian Pacific Island American youth--poor quality public education, family financial strain, hopelessness about the future, unsupervised and unproductive time are similar to those faced by at-risk urban youth. Because of their small numbers, rural youth are often overlooked. Greater attention should be paid to these youth, and efforts should be made to capitalize on the strengths unique to rural communities--while these strengths still remain.

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Effects of Worksite Closure on Children's Academic and Psychological Adjustment

HARLEY-DAVIDSON

Attachments

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ATTACHMENT A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STUDY B

PARENT BOOK 1: HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP & FAMILY FINANCES

Target adult male and female complete together.
Interviewer records answers on data sheet.

1. **What camp or neighborhood do you live in?** *(Record name)*

2. **Do you own your house, or rent?**
   If rental, ask **Who do you rent from?**

   1 Own home
   2 Rent from plantation
   3 Rent from housing corporation
   4 Other landlord

3. **How many bedrooms does your house have?**

4. **How many people live here?** *(Record household size)*

5. **Is this** ***(number)*** **just yourself and your children or are there other people who live with you?**

   1 Nuclear family
   2 Extended family
   3 Nuclear plus nonfamily
   4 Extended plus nonfamily

6. **Altogether, how many people do you support?**

Now I'm going to ask about your family's money. You can use the worksheet we left to help you answer this part. Do you need to get it out? *(Let targets get it out).* **The next two questions are about the past year.**

7. **How much money did your family make in the past year?**

8. **How much money did you use for all your living expenses and bills this past year?**

9. **What is the total value of the things your family owns?**

10. **How much money does your family owe right now on long-term bills, loans, or debts?**

Thank targets and go to 1:1 interviews.

revised 5/22/95

FAMILY FINANCES WORKSHEET

When the interview team comes back to interview your family we will ask you four questions about your family's finances.

- How much money did your family make in the past year?
- How much money did your family use for all your living expenses and bills this past year?
- What is the total value of the things your family owns?
- How much money does your family owe right now on long-term bills, loans, or debts?

It can be hard to answer these questions without having time to think about them first, so we made this worksheet to help you. The interview will go faster if the woman and man in this study work together to fill it out before we come back for the family interview.

During the interview we only ask you to tell us the four total amounts you put in the box at the end of each question. We will not ask to see the worksheet itself.

The worksheet is yours to keep. Please use it if it helps your family plan your finances.

Mahalo for your kokua.

Male and female heads of household should answer this worksheet together.

1. **How much money did your family make in the past year from each source?**

Source of Money	**Amount in Past Year**
a. Paid jobs (include all wages, salaries, overtime pay, tips, bonus, commissions, etc. before taxes are taken out)	______________
b. Unemployment or worker's compensation	______________
c. Self-employment (all income from a family business, or work at home)	______________
d. Social security, retirement, or pension	______________
e. Disability payments or SSI	______________
f. Alimony or child support	______________
g. Food stamps, rent or utility grant, aid for families with dependent children (AFDC), welfare	______________
h. Gifts or money from family or friends	______________
I. Rent or lease payments made to you	______________
j. Regular payments by people who live with you	______________
k. Any other source of money	______________
TOTAL yearly income	$

2. **What regular expenses does your family have? Give your best idea of how much your family spent in the past year for:**

Items for Payment	**Amount Paid in Past Year**
a. Rent	
b. Home or land ownership (include mortgage, condo fee, leasehold, property tax, homeowner's insurance)	
c. School or college tuition	
d. Credit card bills, loan payments (include car, boat, furniture, personal loans), or personal debts	
e. Medical, dental and life insurance	
f. Costs of running a family business	
g. Bus fare, gas, carpool	
h. Union dues	
I. Utilities	
j. Clothing	
k. Food	
l. Repairs (include car, boat, house, appliances)	
m. Health and dental bills *not* paid by insurance	
n. Money given to help friends or family	
o. Any other expenses	
TOTAL yearly expenses	$

3. **What things of value (assets) does your family own and how much are they worth?**

Asset	**Current Value**
a. Houses or land	______
b. Boat, car, motorcycle, etc.	______
c. Money saved (include checking or savings accounts; stocks, certificates of deposit, Christmas funds, retirement or pension funds, money kept in a safe place)	______
d. Personal or family business	______
e. Other	______
TOTAL assets	$

4. **How much does your family owe on debts, loans or long-term bills? How much of the original amount still remains to be paid?**

Debt	**Amount Still Owed**
a. Mortgage	______
b. School loans	______
c. Business loans	______
d Other loans or personal debts	______
TOTAL debts	$

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PARENT BOOK 2: BACKGROUND

PERSONAL HISTORY

1. **Where were you born?**

1 HI
2 Mainland
3 Elsewhere
9 Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

2. **Where was you mother born?**

1 HI
2 Mainland
3 Elsewhere
9 Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

3. **And your father?**

1 HI
2 Mainland
3 Elsewhere
9 Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

4. **How old are you?**

5. **What is your ethnic background or ancestry?**
(R may be multi-ethnic but identify only with one group; code self-identity.)

1 Native Hawaiian, *Kanaka Maoli*
2 Japanese, Okinawan
3 Filipino
4 Portuguese
5 Mixed ethnicity with at least one of the four listed above *(describe)*
6 Other *(describe)*

6. **Do you speak any languages besides English and pidgin?**

Record 0 if No
Record # and describe if Yes

7. **What is the highest grade of school that you finished?**

00 no grade completed
01 kindergarten
02 first grade
03 second grade
04 third grade
05 fourth grade
06 fifth grade
07 sixth grade
08 seventh grade
09 eighth grade
10 ninth grade
11 tenth grade
12 eleventh grade
13 twelfth grade
14 some college
15 two years of college or AA/AS
16 more than 2 years towards BA/BS
17 BA/BS degree
18 some post graduate training
19 graduate degree (MA/MS, JD, MD, Ph.D.)
88 other (*describe)*
99 Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

8. **Do you have any formal job training, license, or credential like a union apprenticeship, plumber's license, or teaching certificate?**

1 None, informal or on the job training, or never in workforce
2 Some workshops, or short courses *(describe)*
3 Formal apprenticeship *(describe)*
4 Journeyman, Trade License or Credential, AA in technical field *(describe)*
5 Professional license (teacher, architect, engineer, chiropractic) *(describe)*
9 Missing/Don't know/Refuse to answer

9. **Everyone has skills or knowledge they could use at a job whether or not they have been to school or have an official credential.**

People here have told us they can do things like electrical work, carpentry, car repair, teaching crafts, using a computer, child care, or doing paper work.

People learn these things on the job, from volunteering, from their families, or on their own.

What are the 5 most important things you know how to do?

a. ____
b. ____
c. ____
d. ____
e. ____

10. **Are you working now?** *(Probe if needed)*

1 Employed
2 Self-Employed
3 Unemployed, needs a job
4 Employed student
5 Unemployed student
6 Homemaker
7 Retired
8 Disabled, not looking for a job
9 Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to answer

11. *If you know R. has worked in sugar, ask..*
How many years altogether have you worked on a sugar plantation?

Otherwise, ask...
Have you ever worked on a sugar plantation?
If yes, ask, **For how many years?**

Record # years
00 if never worked on plantation
99 if Missing/No Answer

Question 12 - 15 for current full or part-time workers only. Skip this section if R. is unemployed or not in workforce and enter not applicable codes later.

12. **You said before that you are working. How many jobs do you have now?**
Record # of current jobs.
8 Unemployed or not in workforce
9 Missing/Don't Know/No Answer

13. **How many hours do you work each week?**
Record # of hours
-88 Unemployed or not in workforce
-99 Missing/Don't Know/No Answer

14. **What do you do?**
    a. *Write title or description. If more than one job, do main job only.*
    b. *Leave number code space blank.*

Ask 15 only if a R. is a current sugar plantation employee

15. **What is your job grade at the plantation?**

01 to 11	Code grade of ILWU bargaining position
12	Grade code for plantation supervisor, manager, non-bargaining
-8	Not Applicable/Not a current sugar plantation worker
-9	Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

Ask Questions 16 & 17a - c only of displaced sugar plantation workers. Skip these questions for continuing sugar workers or spouses and enter not applicable codes later.

16. **When were you last laid off from plantation work?** (mo)__ __/ (yr)__ __

    -8/-8 Not Applicable, not a displaced sugar worker
    -9/-9 Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

17. **What kind of work did you do on the plantation?**
    Probe if needed to get R's last steady plantation job title. If R. was fired then rehired short-term at a lower grade, use the higher grade.

    a. *Write job title or description*

    b. *Leave number code space blank.*

    c. **What was your job grade?**

01 to 11	Grade of ILWU bargaining position
12	Plantation supervisor, manager, non-bargaining
-8	Not applicable, not a displaced sugar worker
-9	Missing/Don't Know/Refuse to Answer

PARENT BOOK 3:
PARENT REPORT ON TARGET CHILD

Book 3 may be done as a self-administered survey. If oral interview, teach and use ***Almost Never to Almost Always*** *(pies) response card for 1 - 22.*

1 Never or Almost Never
2 Less than Half the Time
3 About Half the Time
4 More than Half the Time
5 Always or Almost Always
8 Doesn't Apply
9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

PARENTING PRACTICES QUESTIONNAIRE

I'm going to read a list of different ways that parents raise their children. How often does each of these things happen between you and *(name)*?

1. **You talk with *(name)* about what's going on in his/her life (things like school, friends, hobbies. etc.).**
2. **You ask (*name*) what he/she thinks before you decide something for him/her.**
3. **How much of the time do you know exactly where (*name*) is and who he/she is with.**
4. **The punishment you use with (*name*) depends on your mood.**
5. **When (*name*) does something wrong, you yell at him/her.**
6. **You give reasons to *(name*) for your decisions.**
7. **When you ask (*name)* to do something and he/she doesn't, you let it drop (you give up).**
8. **When (*name*) does something wrong, you handle it by talking, explaining, or reasoning with him/her.**

---

9. **Once you have decided on a punishment, how often can (*name)* get out of it.**
10. **When (*name)* does something wrong, you talk with him/her about what he/she did and how that made other people feel.**
11. **When (*name*) goes out, he/she lets an adult know when he/she will be back.**
12. **When (*name)* does something wrong, you make him/her apologize or make things right.**
13. **After school is over for the day, how often does (*name*) check in with an adult?**

14. **When (*name*) does something wrong, you take the time to listen to his/her side of the story.**

15. **You use physical punishment with (*name*) (slap, spank, hit, paddle, etc.) when he/she does something wrong.**

16. **When (*name*) does something wrong, you try to make him/her feel a sense of shame.**

Keep using ***Almost Never to Almost Always*** *(pies) response card for 15 - 22.*

1	Never or Almost Never	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Less than Half the Time	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	About Half the Time		
4	More than Half the Time		
5	Always or Almost Always		

Now, I'm going to read a list of different ways that some parents show approval for the good things their children do. Tell me how often you do each one.

When (*name*) does something that pleases you, how often do you:

17. **Tell him/her.**

18. **Give him/her a smile or nod of approval.**

19. **Not do anything because he/she just knows you are pleased.**

20. **Give him/her a hug, pat or kiss.**

21. **Not do anything, because you don't want him/her to expect it all the time or become too proud of him/herself.**

22. **Give him/her a treat or reward like money, food, or a privilege (staying up late, using the car, going to a movie, spending time with me).**

---

23. **Yesterday, how many hours did (*name*) spend at home or elsewhere without any adult supervision?**

Record number of hours, use 00 if none.

*Only **mothers** complete "Child Problem Behavior".*

Teach and use ***Not True to Very True*** *response card.*

0	Not True
1	Somewhat True or Sometimes True
2	Very True of Often True
8	Doesn't Apply
9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

CHILD PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

I'm going to read a list of behaviors seen in children and youth. Answer these questions about your child'd behavior now or within the past 6 months. For each item, decide if the item is: very true or often true, somewhat or sometimes true, or not true of your child.

1. **Argues a lot.**
2. **Bragging, boasting.**
3. **Complains of loneliness.** *(says they feel lonely)*
4. **Cries a lot.**
5. **Cruelty, bullying, or meanness to others.**

---

6. **Demands a lot of attention.**
7. **Destroys his/her own things.** *(breaks or ruins things)*
8. **Destroys property belonging to his/her family or to other children.** *(breaks or ruins things that don't belong to him)*
9. **Disobedient at home.**
10. **Disobedient at school.**

---

11. **Doesn't seem to feel guilty after misbehaving.** *(doesn't feel shame doing something wrong)*
12. **Easily jealous.**
13. **Fears he/she might think or do something bad.**
14. **Feels he/she has to be perfect.**
15. **Feels or complains that no one loves him/her.**

16. **Feels others are out to get him/her.**
17. **Feels worthless or inferior.** *(feels he/she is no good)*
18. **Gets in many fights.**
19. **Hangs out with others who get into trouble.**
20. **Would rather be alone than with others.**

---

21. **Lying or cheating.**
22. **Nervous, high-strung or tense.**
23. **Too fearful or anxious.**
24. **Feels dizzy.**
25. **Feels too guilty.**
26. **Over-tired.**

---

27. **Physical problems without known medical cause:**
    - a. **Aches or pains (not headaches)**
    - b. **Headaches**
    - c. **Nausea, feels sick** *(feels like throwing up)*
    - d. **Problems with eyes**
    - e. **Rashes or other skin problems**
    - f. **Stomach aches or cramps**
    - g. **Vomiting, throwing up**
    - h. **Other** *(describe)*

---

28. **Physically attacks people.** *(starts fights)*
29. **Prefers being with older children.**
30. **Refuses to talk.**
31. **Runs away from home.**
32. **Screams a lot.**

33. **Secretive, keeps things to self.**
34. **Self-conscious or easily embarrassed.** *(worries too much about what other people think of them)*
35. **Sets fires.**
36. **Showing off or clowning.**
37. **Shy or timid**
38. **Stares blankly** ✓
39. **Steals at home.**

---

40. **Steals outside the home.**
41. **Stubborn, sullen, or irritable.** *(sullen = quiet but resentful when things don't go their way)*
42. **Sudden changes in mood or feelings.**
43. **Sulks a lot.** *(sulk = moody or silent when displeased)*
44. **Suspicious.** *(suspicious = thinks others out to get him or are unfair to him, doesn't trust people)*
45. **Swearing or obscene language.**

---

46. **Talks too much.**
47. **Talks or walks in sleep.**
48. **Temper tantrums or hot temper.**
49. **Thinks about sex too much.**
50. **Threatens people.**

---

51. **Truancy, skips school.**
52. **Underactive, slow moving or lacks energy.**
53. **Unusually loud.**
54. **Uses alcohol or drugs for nonmedical purposes**
55. **Vandalism.** *(graffiti or trashes things)*

---

56. **Withdrawn, doesn't get involved with others**
57. **Worrying.**

PARENT BOOK 4: FINANCIAL CHANGES

Book 4 may be done by R. as a self-administered survey. For oral interview, teach and use ***Agree to Disagree*** *response card for 1a - f:*

1	Strongly Disagree	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Disagree	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed Feelings		
4	Agree		
5	Strongly Agree		

1. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your family's money situation?:**

   a. **You can afford decent food and clothing.**

   b. **You can afford the kind of car that you need.**

   c. **You can afford the kind of health care you need.**

   d. **In the past year it has been hard for your family to pay all your bills.**

   e. **Your family's income is lower than it was one year ago.**

   f. **Your family's standard of living has gone down in the past year.**

Only target adult **males** answer questions 3a -n. Adult female interviewers, go on to Book 5 and enter Not Applicable codes for this section later.

There is no response card for 3a -n.

0 No
1 Yes
8 Doesn't Apply
9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

3. **In the past 12 months did the following things happen in your family?**

a. **A family member had their wages cut or was given fewer hours to work.**

b. **A family member was laid off or fired.**

c. **Had a house, condo, land, or business repossessed** (taken back by the bank).

d. **Were unable to get a loan.**

e. **Defaulted on a loan** (stopped paying the loan).

---

f. **Dipped heavily into savings.**

g. **Took on a big loan or debt.**

h. **Applied for AFDC, welfare, SSI, Medicaid, Quest or some other form of assistance.**

i. **Took on financial responsibility for a family member.**

j. **Had phone, water, electricity, or gas turned off.**

---

k. **A family member was afraid of losing face because of money problems.**

l. **Had to use up savings or sell belongings so you could qualify for AFDC, welfare, food stamps, Medicare, Quest or other forms of assistance.**

m. **Any other financial hardship** *(describe), (If none, code 0).*

n. **Any other financial hardship** *(describe), (If none, code 0).*

Only target adult **females** answer question 2a - n. Adult male interviewers, go to 3a - o and enter Not Applicable codes for this section later.

There is no response card for 2a - n.

0	No	8	Doesn't Apply
1	Yes	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

2. **In the past 12 months, has your family done any of the following things to save money?**

   a. **Moved to a cheaper house or shared a house with other people.**

   b. **Sold personal or household things.**

   c. **Put off buying things or bought used things instead of new.**

   d. **Put off going to the doctor or dentist.**

   e. **Cut back or stopped insurance** (house, health, car, life, etc.).

   f. **Cut back or stopped going out** (restaurants, bars, movies, etc.).

   g. **Exchanged or traded goods or services** (work or material things).

   h. **Done things to save or cut back on utility, food, or household bills.**

   i. **Wrote a check that you knew might bounce.**

   j. **Asked friends or relatives for help.**

   k. **Was late in paying or didn't pay bills or debts.**

   l. **Found activities or fun things to do for free.**

   m. **Did other things to save money** *(describe).*

   n. **Did other things to sve money** *(describe).*

Only target adult **males** answer Question 4a - d, 5a - c.

There is no response card for 4a - d, 5a - c.

0	No	8	Doesn't Apply
1	Yes	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

4. **In the past 12 months did any of these things happen in your family?**

    a. **A family member started making a longer daily trip from home to work.**

    b. **A family member worked more hours, or started working when they weren't working before.**

    c. **Someone in your family moved away to find new work.**

    d. **Your whole family moved together to find new work.**

5. **The last questions are about health insurance?** (This includes coverage from a private insurance company as well as state or federal insurance like Quest, Medicare or Medicaid).

    a. **Are you currently covered by health insurance?**

    b. **Is your spouse/partner currently covered by health insurance?**

    c. **Is** (target child) **currently covered by health insurance?**

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Continue using ***Almost Always to Almost Never*** *(pie) response card for 2a - h.*

1	Almost Never	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Less Than Half the Time	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	About Half the Time		
4	More than Half the Time		
5	Almost Always		

Now, think about what usually happens when you and your child who is in this study have a problem to solve.

2. **When the two of you have a problem to solve, how often does *(child's name)*?:**

   a. **Show a real interest in solving the problem.**

   b. **Seriously think about your ideas on how to solve the problem.**

   c. **Think about several different ways to solve the problem.**

   d. **Refuse to work things out, even after you have talked.**

---

   e. **Insult you or yell.**

   f. **Act like he/she might hit someone or throw or break something.**

   g. **Clearly state his/her own view.**

   h. **Insist that you agree with his/her way to solve the problem.**

YOUTH BOOK 1:
YOUR BACKGROUND, SCHOOL, NEIGHBORHOOD, MONEY & CHORES

YOUR BACKGROUND

1. **How old are you?**

2. **What grade are you in now at school?**
(If summer time, ask for grade child was in last June.)

1 1st grade
2 2nd grade
3 3rd grade
4 4th grade
5 5th grade
6 6th grade
7 7th grade
8 8th grade
9 9th grade
10 10th grade
11 11th grade
12 12th grade
13 ungraded class
14 primary school drop-out
15 high school drop-out
16 GED
17 community college, trade school
18 some 4-year college
-9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

3. If R. has graduated high school or dropped out ask:
What are you doing now that you're out of high school?

1 Employed full-time
2 Employed part-time
3 Looking for job
4 Will be full-time college or GED student in fall
5 Will work and be in college or GED in fall
6 Hanging out, no plans
8 Not applicable, still in school (Grade K-12)
9 Missing, No Answer

4. **Ethnicity means the countries or culture that a person's ancestors were from. Examples of ethnicity are being Filipino, Portuguese, or Hawaiian. Many people belong to more than one ethnic group, for example, being part-Japanese, part-*haole*. How would you describe yourself?**

1 Native Hawaiian, *Kanaka Maoli*
2 Japanese, Okinawan
3 Filipino
4 Portuguese
5 Mixed ethnicity with at least one of the four listed above *(describe)*
6 Other *(describe)*

YOUTH WORK & CHORES

Teach and use ***None to Almost All*** *response card for 1a - d:*

1	None or very little	8	Not Applicable
2	One-quarter	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	One-half		
4	Three-quarters		
5	All or almost all		

1. **Think about the past six months, from now back to (*month*). I'm going to ask you about things that you might have spent your money on. This could be money you got from working, allowance, or as gifts. About how much of your money did you:**

   a. **Put in a bank, college funds, other kind of savings or investments**

   b. **Spend it on things you wanted to have**

   c. **Spend it on things you needed (like school lunch, basic clothes)**

   d. **Loan or give to your parents or another family member**

Ask Questions 2 - 4 of ***high school-age youth*** *only.*
For Questions 2 - 3 use response codes:

Write the numeric answer 000, 001, 002, 015 etc.
-88 Not Applicable Because Not a High School Student
-99 Missing, Don't Know, Refuse to Answer

2. **How many hours per week do you work for pay during the school year?**

3. **How many hours per week do you work for pay during the summer?**

4. **How much money did you earn** (from work or chores, not gifts) **in the past year?** *(Enter amount in $)*

Teach and use ***Agree to Disagree*** *response card for 1a - e and 2a - i:*

1 Strongly Disagree
2 Disagree
3 Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed Feelings
4 Agree
5 Strongly Agree
8 Not Applicable
9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

FAMILY FINANCE

1. **The next questions are about your family's money situation. Remember that I will not tell anyone else what your answers are. How much to you agree or disagree with these statements**

   a. **Your parents have enough money to buy the kind of food and clothing that your family needs.**

   b. **Your parents can afford the kind of car your family needs.**

   c. **Your parents have enough money to let family members do fun things like eat out, go to the movies, or go to sports events.**

   d. **Your parents have enough money to buy the things that you really want (clothes, bikes, toys, stereo).**

   e. **You worry that your family doesn't have enough money.**

There is no response card for 1a - i.

0	No	8	Doesn't Apply
1	Yes	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD

1. **The next part is about your neigborhood. Is your neighborhood like this? Please answer yes or no.**

   a. **Neighbors here look out for each other.**

   b. **Violent crimes like fights, shootings or armed robbery are a problem in your neighborhood.**

   c. **Kids in your neighborhood are watched over (*supervised)* by their parents the way they should be.**

   d. **Drug and alcohol use is a problem in your neighborhood.**

   e. **People in your neighborhood are like one big family *('ohana).***

   f. **Your neighborhood has a problem with people stealing or trashing things.**

   g. **There are places right around your home that are not safe to walk alone at night.**

   h. **There are activities here for kids to do instead of just hanging out (sports, clubs, church or volunteer groups).**

   i. **Your neighborhood has a problem with family members hitting or hurting each other.**

YOUTH VIEW OF SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

1. **What is the name of the school you go to now?**

2. **What school did you go to last year?**

There is no response card for 3a - k.

0	No	8	Doesn't Apply
1	Yes	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

The next sentences are about the school you go to now. *(If child is on summer vacation, have him/her answer about the school attended last school year.)*

3. **Is your school like this? Answer Yes or No.**

   a. **The teachers and staff at your school really care about the students.**
   b. **Most of the students there respect the teachers and staff people.**
   c. **It's easy to get alcohol (beer, wine, hard liquor) from kids at school.**
   d. **Stealing is a problem at your school.**
   e. **Fights are a problem at your school.**
   f. **The teachers and staff try to help students feel good about themselves.**
   g. **It's easy to get drugs from kids at your school.**
   h. **Kids at your school are friendly and respectful to each other.**
   i. **There is a lot of pressure on kids at your school to have sex.**
   j. **Most of the teachers and students are proud of your school.**
   k. **Most of the kids at your school are serious about learning.**

YOUTH BOOK 2:
YOUR PARENTS

Teach and use ***Almost Never to Almost Always*** *(pies) response card.*

1 Never or Almost Never
2 Less than Half the Time
3 About Half the Time
4 More than Half the Time
5 Always or Almost Always
8 Doesn't Apply
9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

PARENTING PRACTICES QUESTIONNAIRE

I'm going to read a list of different ways that parents raise their children.

1. **First, I'll ask about your mom. How often does your mom:**

   a. **Know exactly where you are and who you are with.**

   b. **Ask you what you think before she makes a decision that affects you.**

   c. **Talk with you about what's going on in your life (things like school, friends, hobbies, etc.).**

   d. **How often does the punishment your mom use depend on her mood.**

   e. **How often does she yell at you when you do something wrong.**

   f. **Give you the reasons for her decisions.**

   g. **Let something drop (she gives up) when you don't do what she asks.**

---

   h. **Talk to you, explain, or use reason when you do something wrong.**

   i. **Once your mom has decided on a punishment for you, how often can you get out of it.**

   j. **When you do something wrong, how often does your mom talk with you about what you did and how that made other people feel?**

   k. **How often does she make you apologize or make things right if you do something wrong.**

   l. **Take the time to listen to your side of the story when you have done something wrong.**

   m. **Use physical punishment with you (slap, spank, hit, paddle, etc.) when you do something wrong.**

   n. **Try to make you feel a sense of shame when you do something wrong.**

Keep using ***Almost Never to Almost Always*** *(pies) response card for 1o - t.*

1	Never or Almost Never	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Less than Half the Time	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	About Half the Time		
4	More than Half the Time		
5	Always or Almost Always		

Now, I'm going to read a list of different ways that some parents show approval for the good things their children do.

When you do something that pleases your mom, how often does she:

o. **Tell you.**

p. **Give you a smile or nod of approval.**

q. **Not do anything because you just know she's pleased.**

r. **Give you a hug, pat or kiss.**

s. **Not do anything, because she doesn't want you to expect it all the time or become too proud of yourself.**

t. **Give you a treat or reward like money, food, or a privilege (staying up late, using the car, going to a movie, spending time with you).**

Keep using ***Almost Never to Almost Always*** *(pies)*
response card for 2a - n.

1	Never or Almost Never	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Less than Half the Time	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	About Half the Time		
4	More than Half the Time		
5	Always or Almost Always		

2. **Now, I'll ask about your dad. How often does your dad:**

   a. **Know exactly where you are and who you are with.**

   b. **Ask you what you think before he makes a decision that affects you.**

   c. **Talk with you about what's going on in your life (things like school, friends, hobbies, etc.).**

   d. **How often does the punishment your dad use depend on his mood.**

   e. **How often does he yell at you when you do something wrong.**

   f. **Give you the reasons for his decisions.**

   g. **Let something drop (he gives up) when you don't do what he asks.**

---

   h. **Talk to you, explain, or use reason when you do something wrong.**

   i. **Once your dad has decided on a punishment for you, how often can you get out of it.**

   j. **When you do something wrong, how often does your dad talk with you about what you did and how that made other people feel.**

   k. **How often does he make you apologize or make things right if you do something wrong.**

   l. **Take the time to listen to your side of the story when you have done something wrong.**

   m. **Use physical punishment with you (slap, spank, hit, paddle, etc.) when you do something wrong.**

   n. **Try to make you feel a sense of shame when you do something wrong.**

Keep using **Almost Never to Almost Always** *(pies) response card for 2o - t and 3a - b.*

1	Never or Almost Never	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Less than Half the Time	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	About Half the Time		
4	More than Half the Time		
5	Always or Almost Always		

Now, I'm going to read a list of different ways that some parents show approval for the good things their children do.

When you do something that pleases your dad, he:

o. **Tells you.**

p. **Give you a smile or nod of approval.**

q. **Not do anything because you just know he's pleased.**

r. **Give you a hug, pat or kiss.**

s. **Not do anything, because he doesn't want you to expect it all the time or become too proud of yourself.**

t. **Give you a treat or reward like money, food, or a privilege (staying up late, using the car, going to a movie, spending time with you).**

---

3. **Answer these questions about yourself.**

How often do you:

a. **Let an adult know when you'll be back if you are going out.**

b. **Check in with an adult after school is over.**

c: **Yesterday, how many hours did you spend at home or elsewhere without any adult supervision?** *Write # hours. (If never unsupervised, code 00)*

*Use **Agree to Disagree** response card for 1a-h & 2a-h.*

1	Strongly Disagree	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Disagree	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed		
4	Agree		
5	Strongly Agree		

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

1. **The next questions are about your mom. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement about your feelings about your Mom?**

   a. **You enjoy spending time with your mom.**
   b. **Your mom lets you know that she appreciates you, your ideas, and the things you do.**
   c. **Your mom lets you know that she really cares about you.**
   d. **Your mom takes time to help you do things that are important to you.**
   e. **Your mom respects you as a person.**
   f. **You have a lot of respect for your mom.**
   g. **You want to be like your mom when you are an adult.**
   h. **Your mom finds fault with you when you don't deserve it.**

2. **The next questions are about your dad. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement about your Dad?**

   a. **You enjoy spending time with your dad.**
   b. **Your dad lets you know that he appreciates you, your ideas, and the things you do.**
   c. **Your dad lets you know that he really cares about you.**
   d. **Your dad takes time to help you do things that are important to you.**
   e. **Your dad respects you as a person.**
   f. **You have a lot of respect for your dad.**
   g. **You want to be like your dad when you are an adult.**
   h. **Your dad finds fault with you when you don't deserve it.**

Youth Book 3 may be done as a self-administered survey. Fill out booklet headings and explain each section to R. Check for completeness before going to Book 4.

YOUTH BOOK 3:
YOUR FEELINGS & BEHAVIOR

FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

1. **How far do you want to go in school or college?**

1 8th grade or less
2 Some high school
3 High school diploma or GED
4 Vocational or trade school, community college
5 4 year college degree
6 Graduate or professional degree
8 Don't Know
9 Missing, Refuse to Answer

2. **Have you talked with your parents about your plans for your education?**

0 No 1 Yes 9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

3. **What kind of job do you want to have as an adult?**

(describe) ____________________

(leave number code blank)

Use ***Agree to Disagree*** *response card for 1 - 7.*
The response codes are:

1	Strongly Disagree	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Disagree	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed		
4	Agree		
5	Strongly Agree		

WHAT AM I LIKE?

I'm going to read some sentences that describe different ways kids feel about themselves. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements about yourself.

1. **You usually like the way you behave.**
2. **You are pretty pleased with yourself.**
3. **You often do the wrong thing.**
4. **You like the way you are leading your life.**
5. **You often are unhappy with yourself.**
6. **You often wish you were someone else.**
7. **You think the way you do things is fine.**

There is no response card for 1a - b and 2.

YOUTH SUBSTANCE USE

1. **The next questions are about alcohol use. Remeber that I will not tell anyone how you answer these questions.**

"One drink" means one bottle of beer, one glass of wine or one wine cooler, one shot of hard liquor or one regular-sized mixed drink.

a. **How often do you usually have alcohol to drink (even just a taste)?**

1 Never
2 A few times per year
3 Once a month
4 A few times per month
5 Once per week
6 A few times per week
7 Every day
8 More than once per day
9 Missing or No Answer

b. **How much alcohol do you typically have when you drink?**

1. None, you never even taste alcoholic drinks
2. A taste or a few sips
3. One drink, bottle or can
4. 2 or 3 drinks, bottles or cans
5. 4 or 5 drinks, bottles or cans
6. A 6 pack or 6 drinks
7. 2 six-packs
8. More than 2 six-packs
9. Missing or No Answer

2. **The next question is about drug use. By drugs we mean marijuana, street drugs (like *batu*, cocaine, etc.) or the use of prescription drugs as way to get high. Again, your answer will be kept private and confidential.**

How often do you usually use any of these kinds of drugs?

1. Never
2. Not in the past few years
3. Once or twice a year
4. A few times per year
5. Once a month
6. A few times per month
7. Once per week
8. A few times per week
9. Every day
10. More then once per day
11. Missing or No Answer

*Use **Agree to Disagree** response card for 1 - 15.*

1	Strongly Disagree	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Disagree	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed		
4	Agree		
5	Strongly Agree		

YOUTH SOCIAL SKILLS

How much do you agree or disagree with these statements about yourself?:

1. **You show respect to parents and elders.**
2. **You ask questions of adults if you don't understand something.**
3. **You make friends easily.**
4. **You apologize or make amends if you do something wrong.**
5. **You are reliable (*you can be counted on*).**

---

6. **You take criticism or correction well.**
7. **You politely question rules or situations when you think they are unfair.**
8. **You share games, activities or toys with other kids.**
9. **You are loyal to your friends.**
10. **You finish tasks and projects that you start.**

---

11. **You offer help when it's needed.**
12. **You are sensitive to other people's feelings.**
13. **You have at least a few close friends.**
14. **You are self-confident and have self-respect.**
15. **You keep your word.**

ELLIOTT YOUTH SELF REPORT

Teach and use ***Never to 6 or More Times*** *response card for 1 - 12.*

1 Never
2 Once
3 2-3 Times
4 4-5 Times
5 6 or More Times
9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

Now I'm going to read a list of behaviors related to laws and rules. I'd like to know whether you've done any of these things during the past 12 months. Your answers will be kept private. Please be honest in answering them.

How often in the past 12 months have you?

1. **Taken something worth less than $25 that didn't belong to you.**
2. **Taken something worth more than $25 that didn't belong to you.**
3. **Driven a car when drunk.**
4. **Taken a car or other vehicle without the owner's permission, just to drive around.**
5. **Been drunk in a public place.**
6. **Damaged or destroyed something that did not belong to you on purpose.**

---

7. **Broken into or tried to break into a house or building.**
8. **Throw things like rocks or bottles at people to hurt or scare them.**
9. **Attacked someone with a weapon, trying to seriously hurt them.**
10. **Sold marijuana, batu, cocaine or other drugs.**
11. **Used a weapon, force, or strong arm methods to get money or things from someone.**
12. **Gotten a ticket for speeding or other traffic violations.**

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Youth Book 4 may be done as a self-adminstered survey.
Fill out booklet headings and explain each section to R.
Check for completeness before going to Book 5.

YOUTH BOOK 4: YOUR FAMILY & CHANGES

There is no response card for questions 1 - 12.

0	No	8	Doesn't Apply
1	Yes	9	Missing/Don't Know/No Answer

FAMILY RULES AND EXPECTATIONS

I'm going to read a list of rules or habits that some families have. Tell me if your family does these things. Answer Yes or No.

1. **Each day, you eat at least one meal together as a family.**
2. **Each day, you spend some family time together.**
3. **You go to church, honor your ancestors, or do other spiritual activities together.**
4. **You do chores, housework, or yardwork together.**

---

5. **If someone in your family goes out, they let the others know where they will be.**
6. **You always know how to get in touch with each other if there's a problem.**
7. **You take time to do fun things together.**
8. **You celebrate holidays and special events like birthdays, graduations and anniversaries.**

---

9. **Each person in your family has regular times when they get up and go to sleep and when they come home.**
10. **An adult is always around to watch young children.**
11. **Someone checks kids' homework.**
12. **Kids have regular chores.**

There is no response card for 1a - e.

0 No 1 Yes 9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer

FAMILY HISTORY

1. **Answer "No" or "Yes" to the following questions.**

   a. **Have you ever gone to a doctor, counselor, social worker, or other therapist for family, personal, or emotional problems?**

   b. **Have you ever been arrested, put on juvenile detention or probation, or been in jail for something you did?**

   c. **Has anyone in your family besides you ever been arrested, in jail, or put on probation or community service for something they did?**

   d. **Has alcohol or drug use had a bad effect on the work, school, or family life of someone in your family?**

   e. **Have you ever worried that someone in your family might seriously hurt another family member (for example, punch them, or threaten with a knife or gun)?**

Use ***Agree to Disagree*** *response card for Questions 1 - 9*
Response codes are:

1 Strongly Disagree	8 Doesn't Apply
2 Disagree	9 Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3 Not sure, Neutral, Mixed	
4 Agree	
5 Strongly Agree	

PERSONAL & FAMILY VALUES

The next sentences are about beliefs that people might have. Tell me how much you agree or disagree with each idea.

1. **If you have to chose between something that is good for you and something that is good for your friends or family, you should always do what is good for others.**
2. **In deciding how to run your life, you should rely on your own judgment more than on what other people think.**
3. **You believe in keeping close ties with your family, even when you are an adult.**
4. **If you disagree with your family or friends, you say what's on your mind.**
5. **It is important to keep harmony (peace, good feelings) with your family and friends.**

---

6. **Once a person is out of high school or college, they should get their own place to live, take care of themselves, and pay their own bills without needing help from their family.**
7. **You believe in supporting your family and friends whether they are right or wrong.**
8. **A healthy person knows that you have to take care of yourself before you are able to take care of other people.**
9. **Family members should (be sensitive enough to) know what other people want, think, or feel without having to be told.**

Only ***high school age*** *youth answer 1a - o.*
If youth is younger, go on to Book 5.

CHANGES IN THE PAST YEAR

Teach and use ***Much Less to Much More*** *response card for 1a - o.*

1 Much Less
2 Less
3 About the Same *or*
Didn't happen then or now
4 More
5 Much More
8 Doesn't Apply
9 Missing, Don't Know. No Answer

1. **For the next questions, think about how much these things happen now, compared to one year ago.**

   a. **You get sick or injured.**

   b. **You feel worried, sad or tense.**

   c. **You have arguments or disagreements with other people.**

   d. **You use alcohol or drugs.**

---

   e. **Family members talk to each other and share their views and feelings.**

   f. **Family arguments or conflicts happen.**

   g. **Family members pull together when faced with a problem.**

   h. **Family members know how much they mean to each other.**

   i. **Family members use alcohol and drugs.**

   j. **Family members are involved in community groups or organizations.**

---

   k. **People in your school or neighborhood use alcohol/drugs.**

   l. **People in your neighborhood are involved in community groups and organizations.**

   m. **Stealing, vandalism and crime happen in your school or neighborhood.**

   n. **People in my school and neighborhood feel like an 'ohana (family) and care for each other.**

   o. **Fighting and other violence happens in your school or neighborhood.**

Qualitative Discussion Topics

What factors explain why workers remain in unstable employment fields? Is it a lack of alternatives or commitment t a chosen field?

What accommodations do families make in their attempts to meet the demands of work and family life?

What sources of information and support do families find most useful?

YOUTH BOOK 5: COPING & PROBLEM-SOLVING

Use ***Almost Always to Almost Never*** *(pie) response card for 1a - h & 2a - h.*

1	Never or Almost Never	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Less Than Half the Time	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	About Half the Time		
4	More than Half the Time		
5	Always or Almost Always		

WHEN THERE'S A PROBLEM TO SOLVE

Think about what usually happens when you and your mom have a problem to solve. A *problem* could mean you two disagree or are angry at each other. A problem can also just be something that you two need to decide, or those times when one person asks the other for advice.

1. **When the two of you have a problem to solve, how often does your mom:**

    a. **Show a real interest in solving the problem.**

    b. **Seriously think about your ideas on how to solve the problem.**

    c. **Think about several different ways to solve the problem.**

    d. **Refuse to work things out, even after you have talked.**

    ---

    e. **Insult you or yell.**

    f. **Act like she might hit someone or throw or break something.**

    g. **Clearly state her own view.**

    h. **Insist that you agree with her way to solve the problem.**

Now, think about what usually happens when you and your dad have a problem to solve.

2. When the two of you have a problem to solve, how often does your dad:

   a. Show a real interest in solving the problem.

   b. Seriously think about your ideas on how to solve the problem.

   c. Think about several different ways to solve the problem.

   d. Refuse to work things out, even after you have talked.

---

   e. Insult you or yell.

   f. Act like he might hit someone or throw or break something.

   g. Clearly state his own view.

   h. Insist that you agree with his way to solve the problem.

*Use **Agree to Disagree** response card for 1 - 32.*

1	Strongly Disagree	8	Doesn't Apply
2	Disagree	9	Missing, Don't Know, No Answer
3	Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed		
4	Agree		
5	Strongly Agree		

COPING STRATEGIES

Sometimes kids have problems or feel upset about things. When this happens they may do different things to solve the problem or to make themselves feel better. How much do you agree or disagree that each sentence describes what you usually do to solve problems or make yourself feel better.

You usually...

1. **Think about what would happen before you decide what to do.**
2. **Try to notice or think about only the good things in your life.**
3. **Try not to think about it.**
4. **Do something fun to take your mind off the problem.**
5. **Talk about how you feel with your parents.**

---

6. **Think about what you need to know so you can solve the problem.**
7. **Remind yourself that you are better off than a lot of kids.**
8. **Watch TV.**
9. **Talk to someone who could help you make the situation better.**
10. **Pray.**

---

11. **Make a plan about what to do.**
12. **Tell yourself things will get better.**
13. **Exercise or play sports.**
14. **Wait and hope that things will get better.**
15. **Figure out what to do by talking with your friends.**

16. Try to figure out why things like this happen.
17. Tell yourself things will be OK.
18. Do something bad or cause trouble.
19. Give up trying to do anything about it.
20. Talk with one of your friends about your feelings.

---

21. Do something to make things better.
22. Tell yourself you can handle this problem.
23. Get mad and blame or threaten the people who caused the problem.
24. Cry or hit, kick, or punch something.
25. Try to solve the problem by talking to your mother or father.

---

26. Put all your attention and effort into solving the problem.
27. Talk to someone who might understand how you feel.
28. Meet as a family group.
29. Stay away from the people or situations that make you feel bad.
30. Rely on your religion or spiritual beliefs.
31. Tell yourself you have taken care of things like this before.
32. Meet with a community leader, elder or kahuna.

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YOUTH BOOK 6:
SOCIAL SUPPORT

Teach and use ***Very Unhappy to Very Happy*** *response card for 1a - n.*

1 Very Unhappy
2 Unhappy
3 Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed
4 Happy
5 Very Happy
8 Doesn't Apply, deceased, No Such Relative
9 Missing, don't Know, No Answer

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

1. **How happy are you about the way you get along with each of these people?**

a. **Grandmother on you mom's side**
b. **Grandfather on your mom's side**
c. **Grandmother on your dad's side**
d. **Grandfather on your dad's side**
e. **Mother**
f. **Father**
g. **Aunties and uncles** (as a group).
h. **Cousins**

---

1. **How happy are you about the way you get along with each of your brothers and sisters?** (list each by name starting with the oldest down to the youngest, then rate happiness)

i. **(Sibling name 1)**
j. **(Sibling name 2)**
k. **(Sibling name 3)**
l. **(Sibling name 4)**
m. **(Sibling name 5)**
n. **(Sibling name 6)**

SOCIAL NETWORK HAPPINESS

Use ***Very Unhappy to Very Happy*** *response card for Question 1 - 6.*
The response codes are:

1	Very Unhappy
2	Unhappy
3	Not Sure, Neutral, Mixed
4	Happy
5	Very Happy
8	Doesn't Apply
9	Missing, don't Know, No Answer

Think about the people who are important in your life (family, friends, relatives, and other people your know).

I'm going to ask about the different kinds of support you get from these people. How happy are you with:

1. **The love, caring, and aloha you get from the important people in your life.**
2. **The help and favors you get from them**
3. **The knowledge and information they share with you**
4. **The time you spend together and the things you do together**
5. **The advice and feedback they give you**
6. **The way they stand up for you and back you up when you need it**

revised 8/14/95

ATTACHMENT B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STUDY C

Effects of Worksite Closure
Parent Interview

Instructions written in black.
Questions written in red.
Probes written in blue.

1. Warm Up

Interviewer will provide a brief overview of questions:

- questions about your child's future plans,
- your child's school preparation,
- your child's reactions to the closure,
- the school's and community's reactions to the closure, and
- your ideas for community support programs.

Tell me a bit about what's happened to you and your family since you last met with *us/someone from the project.*

Probe for:
Current employment situation of both parents.
Job history since the last interview/closure.

Now, tell me a bit about *child's name.*
Let parent talk spontaneously, if they want to.

If you had to use only three words to describe him/her, what would they be?

What have been some of the most rewarding things about raising *child's name?*

2. Future Plans

Now, I'd like to ask some things about what you see in *child's name* future.

Do not ask if child **has graduated** high school.
How many chances have you had to talk with *child's name* about how far he/she wants to go in school?...Would you say that you have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or twice*, or *Never*?

Do not ask if child **has graduated** high school.
Do you think that *child's name* is *Sure* to graduate high school, *Probably will* graduate or *Probably will not* graduate high school?

Ask only if child has **graduated** high school.
When *child's name* was in high school, how frequently did you talk with him/her about how far he/she wanted to go in school?...Would you say you talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or twice*, or *Never*?

Do not ask if child **is already** in college/training program.
How about the likelihood that *child's name* will go to college or get more job training after he/she leaves school?...Is he/she *Sure* to go to college or get more training, *Probably will* do this, or *Probably will not* do this?
If *SURE* or *PROBABLY WILL*

Probe for kind of education/vocational training, length, degree or credential, apprenticeship, trade school, community college, 4-year college, grad school.

How many chances have you and *child's name* had to talk about how he/she will pick a school or training program?...Would you say that you have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just once or twice*, or *Never*?
Probe for:
Whether the program is on the Big Island, Hawaii, mainland, other.
What he/she has to do to qualify to get in.
How he/she will pay for this education.

What do you think *child's name* will do as an adult?
Probe for:
Get married?
Have kids?
What kind of job?

Where do you think *child's name* will live?

Probes: Same town, same island, Hawaii, mainland, other.

How do you feel about that?

Does *name of community* offer a good future for *child's name*?

Why do you say that?

3. School Preparation

As far as you know, does *child's name's* school do anything to help him/her prepare for working life?

If YES:

- Describe for me what the school does.

- How helpful do you think this is for the kids?
  Probes: what are the good parts, bad parts of what school does?

- What else would you like to see the schools do to help kids get ready for work and for living as an adult?

If NO:

- What would you like to see the schools do to help kids get ready for work and life as an adult?

4. Closure & Future Plans

If the plantation were still open today, would you want *child's name* to plan on working there or would you rather have him/her do something different?

When *you/spouse's name* first started working on the plantation, did you expect that your kids would also work there one day?

Did *losing your job/spouse's name losing his/her job* cause any changes in the way you think about *child's name's* future?
If YES:
— Tell me how your thoughts changed.

Do you think there are things that *child's name* can do to improve his/her chances for doing well financially as an adult?
If YES:
— Describe what he/she should do.

Would you say that you and *child's name* have talked about things he/she can do to improve his/her chances for doing well *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just once or twice*, or *Never*?

If NO:
— Why don't you think so?

— Would you say that you and *child's name* have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just once or twice*, or *Never*?

What else should *child's name* know about what it takes to have a good life as an adult?
Let interviewee describe.

—Would you say that you and *child's name* have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just once or twice*, or *Never*?

Where do you and *child's name* have similar ideas about his/her future?

Where do you have different ideas about his/her future?

5. Reactions to Closure

Now I'd like you to think back to the time from the closure until now.

Did *losing your job/spouse's name losing his/her job* at *company name* have any effect on *child's name*?

Probe for:

Negative changes like worries, fears, emotions, withdrawal, anger, drugs, behavior, school performance.

Positive changes like showing support for parents, feeling closer as a family, increased responsibility, planning for the future.

General changes at home, at school, with friends, with neighbors or community.

What did that look like?

How are things with *child's name* now?

How about other kids in the neighborhood?

- Were they affected?
  Probe for positive and negative changes.
  What did that look like?
- How are they doing now?

6. School & Community Reactions

Did the school do anything to help your kid(s) deal with the closings?

- Describe some of the things they did.
- Do you think this was helpful for the kids or not very helpful?
- What was good about what your school did?
- What was not so good?
- What might the school have done differently?

Did any community groups do anything to help the kids at that time?

- Describe some of the things they did.
  Probes: give examples of programs, like Hilo Hamakua Support Program, church programs, etc.
- Was it helpful or not very helpful?
- What might community groups have done differently?
  Probe: let them know this includes the range from grassroots groups - community agencies - government agencies.

How about other parents or other people in the community?...How did they try to help kids?

Any other people or groups beyond the community that tried to help?

7. Ideal Supports

As someone who lives in *community name* you have a lot of knowledge that can be shared with people who live in other areas of the state.

Imagine that you were being asked to work with schools in other towns where lots of families are losing jobs. Your job is to make a really good program for the schools to use to help kids deal with their parents losing a job.

What would the program you create be like?

- What would be the goals?
- What would be the activities/components.

Now imagine you are working for a community group, like the Y, or a church group, or the Hawaii Island Catholic Social Ministry.

Your job is to make a really good program to help kids deal with their parents' job loss.

What would your program include?

- What would be the goals?
- What would be the activities/components.

8. Other Ideas

I've just about finished my questions.

Is there anything I forgot to ask about, or anything else you'd like to say about kids or families in this area and the closures?

9. Closing

Let's end with a fun question.

All parents have dreams for their kids. If you had three wishes for *child's name*, what would they be?

Effects of Worksite Closure
Youth Interview

Instructions written in black.
Questions written in red.
Probes written in blue.

1. Warm up

Interviewer will provide a brief overview of questions:

- questions about your future plans, like plans for work,
- questions about your school,
- questions about the sugar company closures and how you felt,
- questions about your neighborhood and how other people felt when the plantation closed, and
- your ideas for good programs for *kids/teens*

Tell me a bit about your neighborhood.

What are some of the best things about your neighborhood?

What are some of the worst things about your neighborhood?
Probe youth to be descriptive.

What school are you going to now?
If youth has dropped out or graduated high school, identify and ask questions about the last secondary school attended.

What *are/were* some of the best things about your school?

What *are/were* some of the worst things about your school?

2. Future Plans

Now, I'd like to ask some things about what you see in your future.

Do not ask if child **has graduated** high school.
First, I'd like to know if you think that you will finish high school...Are you *Sure* to graduate high school, think that you *Probably Will* graduate, think that you *Probably Will Not* graduate or have you *Not Thought About It*?

Do not ask if child **has graduated** high school.
How many times have you and your parents talked about whether you will finish high school?...Would you say that you have talked about his *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or Twice*, or *Never*?

Ask only if child has **graduated** high school.
When you were in high school, how many times did you and your parents talk about whether you would finish high school?...Would you say you talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or twice*, *or Never*?

Do not ask if child **is already** in college/training program.
How about the chances that you will go to college or get more job training after you leave high school?...Are you *Sure* to go to college or get training, *Probably Will* do this, *Probably Will Not*, or is this something you have *Not Though About*?
If *SURE* or *PROBABLY WILL*

- Probe for the kind of education/vocational training, length, degree or credential, apprenticeship, trade school, community college, 4-year college, grad school.

- How often have you and your parents talked about how to pick a college or job training program?...Would you say that you have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or Twice*, or *Never*?
  Probe for:
  Whether the program is on Big Island, Hawaii, mainland, other.
  What he/she has to do to qualify to get in.
  How he/she will pay for this education.

Now, I want you to think about your life as an adult. What are the chances that you will get married?...Will you *Probably* marry, *Maybe* get married, *Probably Not* get married, or have you *Not Thought About It Yet*?

How about the chances that you will have kids?... Will you *Probably* have kids, *Maybe* have kids, *Probably Not* have kids, or have you *Not Thought About It Yet*?

Do you think that you will have a job and work for a living?...Will you *Probably* have a job, *Maybe* have a job, *Probably Not* have a job, or have you *Not Thought About It Yet*?

If *PROBABLY* or *MAYBE*

└── What kind of work do you see yourself doing?
Have child describe.

Where do you think you will live?

Probes: Same town, same island, Hawaii, mainland, other, haven't considered.

└── How do you feel about that?

Does *community name* offer a good future for youth of this community?
If the child offers an opinion ask:

└── Why do you say that?

3. School Preparation

If child has graduated high school, ask questions about last secondary school attended.

Is there anyone at your school who helps students get ready for having jobs after they finish high school?
If YES:

- Describe for me what the school does.
- How helpful do you think this is for the *kids/students*?
- Why do you think so?
  Probes: good parts, bad parts of what school does.
- What else would you like to see the school do to help *kids/students* get ready for having a job?

Of course, there's more to adult life than just having a job. Do *adults/staff* at your school help students learn other skills they will need after high school, like getting ready to handle money, getting ready to live on your own, how to have good relationships, or how to raise kids?
If YES:

- Describe for me what the school does.
- How helpful do you think this is?
- Why do you think so?
  Probe: good parts, not so good parts of what school does.
- What else would you like to see the schools do to help kids get ready for life as an adult?

4. Closure & Future Plans

Before people knew that the plantation was definitely going to close down, did most of the *kids/people your age* in this area plan on working there after they finished school, or did you think that they planned on doing something else?

What about you? Before you knew the plantation was going to close, did you expect that you would also work there like your *mom/dad* did, or did you think that you would do something else as an adult?

When your *mom/dad* lost *his/her* job because the plantation closed, did that change your ideas about the work you're going to do?
If YES:

Tell me how your thoughts about your future changed because of that.

Do you think there are things that *kids/people your age* can do to improve their chances for making a good living as an adult?
If YES:

Describe what *kids/people your age* should do to make this happen.

If NO:

Why do you say that?

How often have you and your parents talked about things people your age can do to improve your chances for making a good living?...Would you say that you have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or Twice*, or *Never*?

What do you want your life to be like as an adult?

What kinds of things would make you say, "Hey, my life turned out good, and I'm happy with it?"
Let interviewee describe.

Would you say that you and your parents have talked about his *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or Twice*, or *Never*?

Where do you and your parents have similar ideas about your future?

Where do you and your parents have different ideas about your future?

5. Reactions to Closure

Now I'd like you to think back to the time from the closure until now.

Did the plantation closing cause any changes in the *kids/young people* in your neighborhood or in your school?

Probe for:
Negative changes like worries, fears, emotions, withdrawal, anger, drugs, behavior, school performance.
Positive changes like showing support for parents, feeling closer as a family, increased responsibility, planning for the future.
General changes at home, at school, with friends, with neighbors.
What did that look like?

How are things with the *kids/people your age* around here now?

How about you? When *your mom/dad lost his/her job* because the plantation shut down, how did you feel?

What did you think was going to happen to your family?

What was hard for you during that time?

Probe for:
Negative changes like worries, fears, emotions, withdrawal, anger, drugs, behavior, school performance.
General changes at home, at school, with friends, with neighbors or community.

How much did you and your parents talk about the closings and how they could effect your family?...Would you say that your family have talked about this *Often*, *Occasionally*, *Just Once or Twice*, or *Never*?

Did you see any changes in your family's money/financial situation?...Like

Probes:
Having to move.
Having to spend less money.
Someone in your family worked more, changed jobs, or drove farther to a new job.
Changes in what people did around the house.
Changes in how family members felt or how they got along.
Displaced parent around the house more/spends more time with family/ does more chores.

How are things for you and your family now?

Did you learn anything about yourself because of all this?

6. School & Community Reactions

Did the school do anything to help *kids/students* deal with the closings?

- Would you describe what the school did.
- Do you think this was helpful for the *kids/students* or not very helpful?
- What was good about what your school did?
- What was not so good?
- What might the school have done differently?

Did any community groups do anything to help the *kids/students* at that time?

- Describe some of the things they did.
  Probes: give examples of programs, like the Y, Hilo Hamakua Support Program, Local Motion, church programs, etc.
- Was it helpful or not very helpful?
- What might community groups have done differently?

How about other parents or other people in the community? How did they try to help the *kids/young people*?

- Was it helpful or not very helpful?

Let's talk about some of the other families around here. What might other families have done differently to help *kids/young people*?
Probe: did you see any family troubles.

7. Ideal Supports

As someone who lives in *community name* you have a lot of knowledge that can be shared with people who live in other places.

Imagine that you were being asked to work with a school or a youth group in another town where lots of families are losing jobs. Your job is to make a really good program to help *kids/people your age* deal with their parents losing a job.

What would the program you create be like?
- What would be the goals?
- What would be the activities/components?

8. Other Ideas

I've just about finished my questions.

Is there anything I forgot to ask about, or anything else you'd like to say about *kids/young people* or families in this area?

ATTACHMENT C

PROJECT PRODUCTS AND PRESENTAIONS

Journal articles, manuscripts and other publications

DeBaryshe, B. D. (1998). Resiliency factors in youth affected by parental job loss: Coping, parenting practices and community supports. Manuscript submitted for publication.

DeBaryshe, B. D, Stern, I. R., & Yuen, S. (in press). Job loss and families. Hawai'i Family Report, 3(1).

Vuchinich, S., & DeBaryshe, B. D. (1997). Factor structure and predictive validity of dyadic reports on family problem solving. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59, 915-927.

Yuen, S., DeBaryshe, B., & Stern, I. R. (1998, May 10). Job loss in Hawai'i: Families in crisis. The Honolulu Advertiser, B1, B4.

Conference Presentations

DeBaryshe, B. D., Helm, S., Stern, I. R., & Yuen, S. (1997, Jan). Resiliency factors in youth affected by parental job loss: Coping strategies, parenting practices and social support. Paper presented at the 1997 Hawaii Education Research Association Conference, Honolulu, HI.

DeBaryshe, B. D. (1997, April). Resiliency factors in youth affected by parental job loss: Coping strategies, parenting practices and social support. Poster presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Washington, DC.

DeBaryshe, B. D. (1997, June). Coping strategies in Asian Pacific Island American families facing job loss. Poster presented at the Family Research Consortium Summer Institute, San Antonio, TX.

DeBaryshe, B. D. (1997, November) (Chair). Families and job loss: Research and Theory. Round table session at the 1997 National Council on Family Relations annual conference, Crystal City, VA.

Stern, I. R., & DeBaryshe, B. D. (1997, November). Coping strategies and psychological well-being in Asian Pacific Island American families facing job loss. In M. Martini (Chair). Adaptation to contemporary stresses by Pacific and Asian-American families. Poster symposium presented at the 1997 National Council on Family Relations annual conference, Crystal City, VA.

Hartsock, M., DeBaryshe, B. D., Fong, G., Neilsen, S.; Stern, I. R., & Yuen, S. (1997, November). Materials matter: Resources for promoting family strengths. Resource exchange

session presented at the 1997 National Council on Family Relations annual conference, Crystal City, VA.

Vuchinich, S., & DeBaryshe, B. D. (1997, November). Factor structure and predictive validity of questionnaire reports on family problem-solving. In A. C. Aycock (Chair). Advances in family research methods. Symposium presented at the 1997 National Council on Family Relations annual conference, Crystal City, VA.

Yuen, S., Stern, I. R., Nishimoto, W., & DeBaryshe, B. D. (1998, June). Job loss and Hawaii's families. Presentation at the 1998 Conference of Civil Service Commissioners and Personnel Directors, Honolulu, HI